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# ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

*The Rise of Group Prejudice  
During the Decade 1930-40*

DONALD S. STRONG, Ph. D.

*Joe,  
the filthy Heb.  
has gives some  
good info. in  
here*



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INTRODUCTION

By CLYDE R. MILLER \*

When Adolph Hitler set out to become dictator of Germany and then of Europe, and finally, of the world, he began with a definite propaganda plan. This had for its immediate purpose the unification of Germany, and the disorganization of the Western democracies. This he accomplished by skillful utilization of psychological processes and propaganda techniques.

He appealed primarily to the processes of frustration, displacement, and anxiety. The Germans were frustrated—the natural result of a series of disasters: loss of the war; inflation; and then, the impact of devastating depression. To the astute propagandist frustrated people are made to order. Hitler, the most astute propagandist of modern times, gave the German people new goals for which they could pitch in and work—goals which to them seemed to provide a way out of their troubles. He set before them hopes and aspirations, in the seeking of which they could canalize their frustration in terms of aggressive action. Shrewdly, to the masses, he gave an outlet for their aggressiveness: destroy the Jews.

By the psychological process of displacement the Germans were eager to shift the blame for defeat, inflation, and depression upon some scapegoat. Historically, the Jews provided it. For many centuries they had been an "outside group," different from the great majority group of Christian Germans. It is in the nature of man to fear and suspect groups whose practices and rituals differ from their own. The Christian churches had done little to break down the basis for such fear and suspicion. Thus, Hitler found at his disposal in the small minority Jewish group a scapegoat which could be blamed for all of Germany's troubles. A small Catholic group, a small Masonic group, a small group of capitalists or bankers—psychologically, *any* such group would have answered the same purpose. Indeed, Hitler made use of these other minority groups as scapegoats, but he achieved mass hatred most effectively by thus utilizing the Jewish minority. Centuries of "conditioning" made that end more easily obtainable, plus the fact that the Jews in Germany were such a small minority.

To win the "upper classes" and the dwindling middle class, Hitler found another scapegoat: the Communists. It is quite beside the point to say that in the original platform of the Nazi Party he included many

\* Associate Professor of Education at Teachers College, Columbia University, and Secretary of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis.

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Communist planks. Obviously, he did—purposefully, to get mass appeal—but he didn't label the planks "Communist". On the contrary, he made of Communism a "poison word" to win the classes—the business men, bankers, industrialists, the Protestant and Catholic churchmen, the statesmen, and the newspaper owners. These German leaders feared Communism. Many of them welcomed Hitler as a leader who would safeguard Germany against it. Thus Hitler united masses and classes by shrewdly associating "Jew" with "Communism". Next, he associated with both Jew and Communism the word democracy which he called "the foul and filthy avenue to Communism". Once in power, he destroyed labor unions, and by threat of concentration camp or death stopped all public and much private criticism of his acts. To some industrialists, churchmen, journalists, and political leaders, what he was doing was good—a necessary "defense mechanism against Communism". Quickly, after he came to power, in 1933, he won the support of such persons in France, England, and the United States.

One has only to survey the world events since 1933 to see how much support he won, how much help he received from the statesmen of France, England, and even the United States. Documented evidence of how Hitler was aided in his own country and in the Western democracies may be seen in abundance in summaries such as *The Spirit and Structure of German Fascism*, by Robert Brady; *The Nazi Dictatorship, Europe on the Eve*, and *Night Over Europe*, by Frederick Schuman; *Betrayal in Central Europe*, by G. E. R. Gedy; *Europe in Retreat*, by Vera M. Dean; *Ambassador Dodd's Diary*, and various of the bulletins issued since 1937 by the Institute for Propaganda Analysis.

Hitler used no secret devices or methods in his amazing accomplishments as a propagandist. The secret of his effectiveness lies in the astute utilization he made of the frustration of millions of people, of the anxiety of business, religious, and political leaders that there would be social upheaval. Once he had unified the masses and classes by giving them Jews, Communists, and democracy as scapegoats, he utilized the projection process to make them all work with missionary zeal for a type of world and national leadership which would forever safeguard against the evils of Judaism, Communism, and democracy. His task was made easier when the Communists propagandized for a "United Front", with "democracy" featured. Thus, in France, in England, and even in the United States, the *Fuehrerprinzip*, or leadership principle, obtained increasing backing. Hitler's simple pattern with its name calling, its use of the poison words—Jew, Communism,

## INTRODUCTION

democracy—evoked automatic support for him from many in France, England, and the United States—as the same pattern had evoked the same response in Germany.

In America, too, in the Thirties, there were frustrations and anxiety; there were industrialists who feared social upheaval as an outcome of the depression. There were churchmen and politicians as well as less respectable agitators who seemed to see in the Hitler technique a sure-fire method to achieve power and prestige. America, since 1929, has had its share of frustration caused by depression and unemployment; and America has had its share of anxiety, particularly on the part of the well-to-do, that the masses, encouraged by the New Deal, would go "socialistic". Hence, there has been a missionary zeal on the part of some of the anxious rich to establish the leadership principle in the United States. They would keep the unemployed in their places, keep labor docile, prevent strikes, and emphasize in religion an authoritarianism to control education and labor and, at the same time, to transfer to the leadership principle the sanction of God.

As passages in Ambassador Dodd's Diary reveal, some of the most influential and respectable men in America, in the Thirties, were approving the leadership principle for America. One United States Senator was described by Dr. Dodd as a man who "talks like a National Socialist". Dr. Dodd, in his diary (p. 213), mentioned the Senator as citing his influence with Huey Long. Dr. Dodd quoted the unnamed Senator as saying, "We shall soon be shooting up people here, like Hitler does."<sup>1</sup>

For the most part, however, it was not respectable citizens who openly used the Hitler propaganda pattern in an attempt to bring Fascism to America. With the exception of Father Charles E. Coughlin, most of the American propagandists operating the Hitler pattern were curious individuals with curious backgrounds. Some had records of crime; nearly all were neurotic. But their very neuroses could make them effective propagandists. Financial support came from the masses. It came also from some individual contributors, both wealthy and "respectable".

Dr. Donald S. Strong has performed a service of value in these days of crisis by preparing this comprehensive study—a project which has had the encouragement of the American Council on Public Affairs. His findings will help prevent Fascism in America if they obtain immediate and wide attention. From his study it is clear that anti-semitic groups in the United States utilize Hitler's appeals to frustra-

<sup>1</sup> President Roosevelt, in the controversy over the Lease-Lend Bill, identified this unnamed Senator as Burton K. Wheeler—an identification approved later by William E. Dodd, Jr., who edited the Ambassador's diary.

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tration and anxiety; they seek to create a leadership which will be America's safeguard against the evils of Jew, Communism, democracy. The German-American Bund, one of the groups described in detail by Dr. Strong, has been part of the Nazi propaganda organization. Father Charles E. Coughlin, his magazine, *Social Justice*, and his organization, The Christian Front, while not technically a part of the Nazi propaganda machine, have followed the major outlines of Hitler's pattern.

A chief immediate danger—assuming that mass unemployment and discontent continue in America—would seem to be a united front of the Hitler-inspired, anti-semitic organizations. This front seems unlikely immediately for the reason that many of the anti-semitic leaders are getting their bread and butter out of the movement and do not wish to yield place or prestige to rivals. Another factor militating against united front is the fact that Father Coughlin, a Catholic priest and one of the ablest of all the preachers of anti-semitism, probably would experience difficulty in getting many Protestants to follow his political leadership.

It seems not unlikely that, with the United States committed to a victory over Hitler, anti-semitism for the time being will take a minor place in the propaganda plan of these dozens of organizations battenning upon the discontent of the unemployed. New scapegoats, including aliens, Negroes, and, perhaps, the Catholic minority itself, may be found. But in the post-war days to come there may be a revival of anti-semitism. Whether the war against Hitler is won or lost, post-war conditions may be conditions of increased hardship and poverty. Again a scapegoat will be found. Psychologically, it matters little whether the scapegoat is alien, Negro, Jewish, Catholic, Socialist, or Communist. Post-war excesses will bear heavily upon one or more of these or other minority groups. To prevent post-war excesses, measures must be taken to prevent post-war depression and mass unemployment. And immediately educational measures should be taken to analyze the propagandas which can make great masses of people victims of hysteria. Dr. Strong's study is a timely contribution to the educational safeguard against Fascism.

The Hitler method will not work in America if economic democracy, political democracy, and education to help people recognize and analyze propaganda increase rapidly enough. The first means jobs; the second means full freedom for all adults to vote and to discuss the issues on which they vote; the third means many more educators who, like Dr. Strong, are committed to economic and political democracy.

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## Preface

SEVERAL years ago I became intensely interested in the operations of anti-semitic organizations in the United States. Fortunately, my research duties at the University of Chicago, together with the excellent opportunities available in that city for first-hand scrutiny of anti-semitism, made it possible for me to give the matter a considerable amount of attention.

I should emphasize that my concern with the subject is based upon a profound belief in the capacity of democratic America to cope with its enemies and counter-currents and that I have striven for complete objectivity in presenting the facts here assembled. My personal origins cannot, of course, be considered an influence in choosing or developing the theme in question. In this connection I wish to add that the unbiased interest of the American Council on Public Affairs has been both encouraging and helpful.

My chief guide and critic has been Dr. Harold D. Lasswell, formerly of the University of Chicago and now associated with the William Alanson White Psychiatric Foundation of Washington, D. C. For penetrating criticism I am indebted to Dr. Harold F. Gosnell of the University of Chicago and Lewis E. Gleeck, now with the American Consular Service in Canada.

I followed the standard practice among scholars and exploited my wife for help in typing, revising, and other tedious jobs. She was most helpful in encouraging me to dispense, whenever possible, with ponderous academic jargon and to express my ideas in simpler terms.

DONALD S. STRONG

Department of Government  
The University of Texas  
Austin, Texas

## CHAPTER I

### Anti-Semitism Throughout the World

THIS STUDY is an effort to throw some light on the growth of fascism in the United States. Two difficulties confront the person who attempts to inquire into this subject. First, the growth of fascism in the United States is too broad a subject for any one study to handle adequately. Secondly, the term *fascism* is vague and unsatisfactory. It has been used so extensively as a polemical term and it has so many different connotations to so many groups that it is hardly suitable for use in this study. The first difficulty may be solved by confining oneself arbitrarily to one phase of the subject that is loosely called *fascism*—to a phase that would come within almost anyone's definition of *fascism*. The second difficulty may be met by showing how that which is called *fascism* fits in a general way into the framework of concepts that are developed in this study.

The special phase of fascism with which this study deals is the host of anti-semitic organizations that have developed in the United States since 1933. Although organizations of this type—particularly such highly publicized groups as the German-American Bund and the Silver Shirts—have been discussed in hundreds of newspaper and magazine articles, to date they have not been subjected to any comprehensive or systematic examination. The purpose of this study is to provide such a thoroughgoing examination and simultaneously to orient these organizations in the broad sweep of world political movements. In connection with the latter point, it is pertinent to note here that the ideology spread by anti-semitic groups in the United States is the same as that which accompanied certain political developments in Russia before World War I, in Poland and Hungary shortly after that war, and more recently in Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy.

What is the significance of anti-semitic organizations in the United States? What is the relation of these groups to what is generally termed *fascism* in the United States. In order to be able to answer these questions adequately, it is necessary to present them in language better adapted to a precise examination of the subject.

At the outset we must note that within any society there exists what may be termed roughly the *ruling class* or, more precisely, the



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*élite*. The *élite* consists of those persons who get the most of a given social value—for example, income or deference. An *élite* justifies its ascendancy by an ideology, i.e., a set of ideas and symbols by which it endeavors to rationalize its ascendancy and to win the loyalty of the masses to that order of society.<sup>1</sup> Essentially, the ideology involved depends upon non-rational acceptance. Loyalty to it means that one accepts certain beliefs, loves certain heroes, cheers at the sight of such symbols as flags, thrills at the singing of certain songs, and gives deference to the proper persons. The stability of any social order depends to a large degree on the acceptance of the ideology upon which the ascendancy of the *élite* rests.<sup>2</sup>

Within any society there usually circulate other sets of symbols or counter-ideologies—other sets of ideas justifying a different order of society. These competing ideologies point out the weaknesses of the present social order and demand more or less fundamental changes in the social practice. If the demands are for fundamental changes in the social practice, the ideology is *revolutionary*. Demands for less sweeping changes in the social practice characterize a *reform* ideology. *Radical* demands are those for the accomplishment of these changes by drastic methods—i.e., methods that would be counter to the *morés* under ordinary circumstances. *Moderate* demands ask for change by methods within the *morés*. A *radical revolutionary* ideology is one that demands fundamental changes in the social practice to be accomplished by drastic methods. If the ideology demands changes in all countries of the world, it is a *world radical revolutionary* ideology. Obviously the most important world radical revolutionary ideology at present is the Communist ideology emanating from Moscow. It points out the weaknesses of the present capitalistic society and demands that fundamental changes be made in the social practice and that they be accomplished by drastic methods. The *élite* of all occidental countries except Russia today justify their ascendancy by variations of what may be called capitalistic, bourgeois, or French revolutionary ideology. The ideologies of the French and Russian revolutions are the two great competing ideologies of our time. Variations of the former justify the social structure as it has existed in western Europe and America; the latter attempts to justify the emergence of a new *élite* to replace those justifying their ascendancy by the older ideology. Hence, significant observations about any political movement today must orient it with relation to these two great revolutions and their ideologies.

Our immediate problem is simply to orient anti-semitic groups the world over within the pattern of political changes between the two

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revolutions. We can do this more readily if we first note that whenever a world radical revolutionary ideology assumes threatening proportions any place in the world, there develops in all countries a defensive reaction against it. This reaction may simply take the form of a reactivation of the ideology that justifies the present order. The old ideology may simply be reasserted more loudly and more frequently. Any group that opposes the world radical revolutionary ideology may be designated as anti-world radical revolutionary in its ideology. Usually the defense takes place in the name of the national symbol and the world radical revolution is pictured as foreign. Occasionally the defense against the world radical revolutionary ideology takes the form of a national radical revolutionary ideology which demands that within the nation drastic measures be taken against those persons identified with the world radical revolutionary symbol and that fundamental changes be made in the existing governmental practices so that the world radical revolutionary threat will be definitely suppressed. Italian Fascism is an example of a national radical revolutionary movement. It was *national* in that the demands for change were limited to Italy. It was *radical* in that it demanded drastic methods—not the ordinary democratic procedures. It was *revolutionary* in that it demanded fundamental changes in the existing governmental practices, namely the replacement of the parliamentary democracy with a dictatorship. One of the avowed purposes of this movement was the crushing of the threat of a world radical revolutionary movement and those groups identified with it.

Similar examples of national radical revolutionary movements are to be found in pre-revolutionary Russia, post-war Poland and Hungary, German National Socialism, the British Union of Fascists, and the *Croix de Feu* of France. Whether the American anti-revolutionary, anti-semitic groups may be properly described as national radical revolutionary groups is one of the questions this study seeks to answer. The relation between anti-world radical revolutionary and national radical revolutionary ideologies may not yet be clear. The latter is a specialized type of the former. Any opposition to a world radical revolutionary ideology takes the form of an anti-world radical revolutionary ideology. A national radical revolutionary movement is one form the opposition may take.

A few other points about national radical revolutionary movements are worth noting. Usually, these movements take place in the name of the national symbol and are accompanied by an intense, exaggerated nationalism. In certain instances, they need not be inaugurated by

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the élite; indeed in their less developed forms they usually get little or no support from the élite.

As used here, the term *national radical revolution* is roughly equivalent to the popular term *fascism*; however, the two terms are by no means synonymous. *Fascism* has for many people a large number of implications that cannot correctly be attached to a *national radical revolution*; moreover, we are applying the latter term to several movements that many persons would hesitate to call *fascist*.

Anti-semitic ideology is merely a variation of anti-world radical revolutionary ideology and similarly a variation of the national radical revolutionary ideology. So-called *anti-semitic* ideology is really anti-revolutionary, anti-semitic ideology. The Jew and the revolutionary are closely identified as one and the same thing. As a political ideology, anti-semitism without an anti-revolutionary aspect is so rare as to be almost unknown.<sup>3</sup> That anti-revolutionary and anti-semitic sentiments should be grouped together in one ideology is not surprising. Let us recall that opposition to revolutionary movements always occurs in the name of an aroused nationalism.

Any intensively nationalistic movement is against the alien. It tends to suppress differences and to force all citizens into the standardized nationalistic mould. Any minority is looked upon with suspicion. The Jew is everywhere a national minority—the perpetual alien. Hence, he is an eligible target for any aroused nationalism. Revolutionary ideas can, of course, be conveniently identified with the Jews. Revolutionary ideas are held to be alien; hence, these alien ideas must be disseminated by the alien people in our midst, the Jews. Thus arises the identification of Jews with the revolutionary ideology. One discredits the revolutionary ideology by pinning the Jewish label on it.<sup>4</sup>

Now let us turn to an examination of this anti-revolutionary, anti-semitic ideology in action outside of the United States. Our purpose is to make abundantly clear that it is not an isolated American phenomenon but that, on the contrary, anti-revolutionary, anti-semitic ideology flourishes wherever social and political conditions are favorable to it. An examination of its operation in other countries will make more clear what these conditions are and enable us better to understand the significance of the movement in the United States. However, before proceeding it is necessary to explain the shift in terminology from the cumbersome expression *anti-world radical revolutionary* to the briefer *anti-revolutionary*. The term *revolutionary* is more inclusive than *radical*. *Revolutionary* indicates simply a demand for fundamental changes in the social practice; it does not specify what means are to be used. Hence, the European Social Democratic parties would,

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historically speaking, fall within the term *revolutionary* since they have believed in a fundamental change in the social practice—the abandonment of capitalism—although they have not demanded the use of drastic means which would make them *radical revolutionaries*. *Anti-revolutionary*, then, is the term we wish to use. These movements—which can be best described as anti-revolutionary and anti-semitic—are opposed to all groups which believe in any fundamental changes in the social practice, even though it is to be achieved peaceably. They make no fine distinctions in selecting their opponents. In fact, reformist groups whose beliefs are merely suggestive of the beliefs of the revolutionaries are usually attacked just as vigorously as the revolutionaries themselves by the anti-revolutionary, anti-semitic groups.

Before turning to the earliest instances of anti-revolutionary, anti-semitic ideology, let us remember that we are interested in anti-semitism only when it is associated with an anti-revolutionary ideology. Anti-semitism has existed throughout Christian civilization. For the last two thousand years Jews have been dispossessed, tortured, and murdered on religious and other justifications. However, we are not interested in anti-semitism as such.<sup>5</sup> If a Jew is killed merely because he is a Jew, that is not pertinent to this study. However, if he is killed on the ground that he and all other Jews are revolutionists bent upon changing the present social order, his fate comes within the scope of our inquiry. This distinction makes it a little difficult to state just when the anti-revolutionary, anti-semitic ideology first appeared. Pogroms against the Jews were not infrequent in nineteenth century Russia. In 1882, 1902, and 1903, for instance, extensive pogroms broke out in that country. However, it was in 1905 that anti-semitism was used as an instrument to repress revolutionary ideology. Only after the revolution of that year was a clear-cut effort made to discredit a revolutionary movement by pinning the Jew label on it. Extracts from the pamphlets circulated at that time plainly show the effort to stigmatize the liberal revolution as Jewish:

The cry of "Down with the autocracy!" comes from the blood-suckers who are commonly known as Jews. . . . Beware of the Jews! They are the root of all evil, the sole cause of our misfortunes. The glorious moment is already approaching when there will be an end of all Jews in Russia. Down with the traitors! Down with constitutions!

That the revolutionary ideology with which the Jews were held to be associated was a demand for the change from a feudal, autocratic state to a bourgeoisie, liberal state makes no difference. Such a demand

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would be within our definition of *revolutionary*. Much more important for our purposes is to note that this anti-semitic, anti-revolutionary activity was initiated by the government. The Russian élite initiated this new ideology, or this variation of an old ideology, to ward off a threat to their ascendancy. Much of the literature was "produced in the printing-office of the police department and financed from the Tsar's so-called privy purse."<sup>6</sup> The Russian élite did not join the powerful anti-revolutionary, anti-semitic movement which had been developing among the lower classes for years while they had been ignoring it; operating through the government, the élite *facilitated* the movement by instigating brutal pogroms. Here was one of the first instances of the anti-revolutionary, anti-semitic ideology being used to quell a threat to the ascendancy of the élite.

Once started, this ideology continued in Russia. It played its most significant role in the years 1917-1920. The counter-revolutionaries quickly realized the potentialities of anti-semitism in rousing sentiment against the Kerensky government and, later, the Bolsheviks. The revolution was blamed on the Jews. At this time the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*<sup>7</sup> became very prominent as a factor in agitation against the Jews. Here again this ideology led to violence. White Guard generals deliberately handed Jewish communities over to their troops for butchery.

Recent anti-semitism in Poland was not closely tied up with anti-revolutionary ideology. Hence, it is not so significant for our purposes as the brief wave of the anti-revolutionary, anti-semitic ideology that struck Poland after World War I. The anti-semitic policy of White Russia spread to Poland. Here, too, the Jew became identified with Bolshevism. The conflict with the Soviet forces in 1919 stimulated the hatred for Jews and led to the pogroms against the Polish Jews.

The appearance of this ideology in post-war Hungary is of interest because, before World War I, anti-semitism was almost unknown there. Hungarian Jews not only were thoroughly Magyarized but were zealous pioneers in developing the national consciousness and culture of Hungary.<sup>8</sup> It was during the crushing of the short-lived Soviet regime that the anti-revolutionary, anti-semitic ideology made its appearance.<sup>9</sup> Here, as in post-war Russia, the ideology was not used as a means of élite defense; instead an old élite, temporarily dislodged, employed it as a means of discrediting the new revolutionary élite and justifying its own return to power. Thus, in the name of this anti-revolutionary, anti-semitic ideology, the White Terror was directed not only against the Bolsheviks in general and the few Jewish Bolsheviks but against all the half million Jews in Hungary. The speedy association of Jews

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and Bolsheviks in the ideology came about partly from the spread of the ideology from the White Russians and partly from the fact that Bela Kun and several other leaders of the revolution actually were Jews. Anti-semitism had another use in addition to bolstering the position of the élite. Defeat in the war and territorial dismemberment by the post-war treaties heaped tremendous humiliation on Hungarian nationalism. Too weak to direct the bitterness produced by these misfortunes toward an alien nation, Hungary found the Jews an excellent scapegoat for her national humiliation.

Germany is, of course, the country most closely associated with the anti-revolutionary, anti-semitic ideology and the chief distributing center of it at the present time. The study of the rise of this ideology in Germany gives one a better picture of its rise throughout the world.<sup>10</sup>

The German experience differs from that of Russia, Hungary, and Poland in that the revolutionary menace to the existing social order was never so real. In Russia, the Bolsheviks seized the government. In Hungary, the Soviet regime managed to control the country for several months. In Poland, the Red Army invasion was ominous. In Germany, although a short-lived Soviet regime actually did hold power in Munich and although the Communist and Social Democratic parties gained tremendous popular support, the menace to the ascendancy of the élite was never comparable to the post-war experiences of Russia, Hungary, or Poland.

In addition to the "revolutionary threat," a factor that led to the Nazis' rise to power in Germany was the profound economic distress from which Germany suffered ever since 1918. True, Germany enjoyed a brief period of relative prosperity from 1925 to 1929, but she never enjoyed the degree of prosperity that the victor nations did in the post-war years. Since economic insecurity is fertile soil for new ideologies, whether they attack or uphold the existing social order, it is small wonder that a large percentage of the German population became associated with the revolutionary parties. The more menacing the revolutionary movement became, the stronger the Nazis grew, ever professing to be defenders of the existing social order against revolutionary chaos. Simultaneously, the anti-semitic part of Nazi ideology attracted many Germans who felt the pinch of economic deprivation. The Jew could be readily blamed for the depression; he made a fine target for the aggressions generated by economic deprivation.

The comments applied to Hungary regarding the anti-revolutionary, anti-semitic ideology in relation to national humiliation from military defeat apply equally here. Defeat, dismemberment, disarmament, and the stigma of sole war guilt were profoundly humiliating to the national



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pride of Germany, but this very humiliation stimulated a more intense wave of nationalism. Defeat gave Germany an intense feeling of inferiority—an inferiority complex on a national scale—and led to a violent over-compensation against it in the form of extreme nationalism. Moreover, since Germany was disarmed and encircled by armed neighbors, bitterness could not be discharged against the foreigner beyond the frontier. Thus, the “foreigner” within Germany, the Jew, became the target of the awakened nationalism. Therefore, it was the Jew that caused Germany to lose the war; it was the Jew that produced Germany’s national humiliation.

Anti-semitism was readily accepted in Germany because the nation had a long tradition of anti-semitism. This situation stands in marked contrast to that of the United States and England, where anti-semitism has not appeared until quite recently. Without attempting to trace the origin and history of anti-semitism in Germany, it can be noted that anti-semitism had become a politically significant ideology by 1870 and that it was a doctrine about which books were being written at that time. In 1871, Professor August Rohling, a theologian, had published *Der Talmudjude*, which represented Judaism as a devilish doctrine; this book circulated by the hundred thousand. In connection with the *Kulturkampf*, the Catholic Church launched a campaign of anti-semitism, blaming the church’s troubles on the Jews. In 1878, Adolf Stocker, the Court preacher, founded the anti-semitic Christian Social Labor Party. In 1887, Otto Bockel drew up his *Antisemitenkatechismus*, a handbook for anti-semitic agitators, which went through many editions. Although this early German anti-semitism was not yet combined with an anti-revolutionary ideology, the point to be emphasized is that political anti-semitism had been well rooted in German culture for half a century when the National Socialists appeared on the scene with their anti-revolutionary, anti-semitic ideology.<sup>11</sup>

In the German situation another feature of interest is the fact that the Nazis started as a middle-class movement. All writers on the German situation emphasize the fact that it was middle-class rather than proletarian. The German proletariat was attracted to a large extent by the two Marxist parties, the Social Democrats and the Communists. The middle classes, on the other hand—especially the lower middle classes—were drawn to the Nazis.<sup>12</sup> At first, the upper classes considered the Nazis a bit vulgar and tended to support the German People’s Party and the Nationalists.<sup>13</sup> As the Nazis gained in strength, however, they drew members heavily from the upper classes. But from the standpoint of origin and of mass support the National Socialist Party is essentially a middle-class party.

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Although the bulk of the party’s early membership was middle-class, a large proportion of its finances came from the wealthy. As it grew stronger, contributions from the industrialists became more and more generous. The contributions should occasion no surprise. The National Socialists were one of several German parties with an anti-revolutionary program. Uneasy over the growth of revolutionary ideology, the wealthy backed the Nazis and all other groups that did not challenge their position as the economic élite. As the Nazis emerged as a continually more powerful champion against revolutionary propaganda, they began to draw increased support from those who had the most to lose from the growth of revolutionary sentiment.

These comments on the anti-revolutionary nature of the Nazi party do not tell the whole story. The National Socialists became anti-revolutionary in the course of their development. In the early stages they were revolutionary; for a time the word *Socialist* in the party name really meant something. The party’s original twenty-five point program, drawn up in 1920, called for the abolition of interest, the creation of state ownership of trusts, state sharing in the profits of large industries, and the abolition of department stores. Only after a period of years and after considerable internal strife in the party was it definitely settled that the revolutionary planks should never be carried into practice.

The rise in Italy of an anti-revolutionary movement, Italian Fascism, is another subject worth analysis. Despite the absence until recently of anti-semitism, Italian Fascism is essentially similar to all the other movements we have noted and it particularly resembles German National Socialism. Like that movement, it rallies its followers in the name of the national symbol against an alleged menace of revolution. The minor role of anti-semitism in Italian Fascism is due only to the fact that there are too few Jews in Italy to make them a sizeable target. Only about one tenth of one percent of the Italian population is Jewish; in Germany, the Jews make up nearly one percent. Although in both Germany and Italy the existing social practices have been defended by the development of an anti-revolutionary movement, the Italian Fascists have not attempted until recently to seek out and berate the Jewish conspiracy.<sup>14</sup>

Now let us note the several points at which the rise of Italian Fascism parallels that of National Socialism.<sup>15</sup> In the first place, Italian Fascism was a reaction against what was considered a menacing growth of revolutionary sentiment. The elections of 1919 returned to the Chamber of Deputies 156 Socialists and 100 members of the *Popolari* Party, a Catholic party with revolutionary leanings. A Bolshevik wing of the

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Socialist Party engaged in some direct action; agrarian labor was militant and in some cases resorted to violent tactics. A wave of strikes reached its high point in the autumn of 1920, when strikers in the Turin metal works seized plants, remained in them, and attempted to operate them. Thus, groups identified with revolutionary symbols showed a high degree of militancy. Whether these groups ever intended to seize power or ever came near having an opportunity to do so is most doubtful. At any rate, the significant point is that the increase of revolutionary strength was such as to make the élite insecure and to start among the threatened middle classes a violent reaction against the revolutionary symbols. The upper and middle classes became frightened and willing to support any definitely anti-revolutionary movement.

Another point of similarity to the German experience is that Italian Fascism also grew out of economic stress. The end of the war brought industrial depression to Italy. This economic insecurity swelled the ranks of the revolutionary parties and led to the growth of the Fascist reaction against them. But depressions increase the size of all parties other than those in power and many Italians expressed their discontent with economic conditions by joining the Fascists. As in the case of Germany, national humiliation accounts for the intensely nationalistic character of this movement. Though Italy was one of the victors in the war, she had been treated at the peace conference like a second-rate power. She secured only a few increases of territory; France and Great Britain took the lion's share. Injured Italian pride expressed itself in the form of over-compensation—in exaggerated nationalism. Such an atmosphere was unfavorable to revolutionary movements that talk in terms of world unity on a class basis and devalue nationalism. Conversely, Italians, smarting from the lack of recognition their country received at the peace conference, responded quite readily to nationalistic Fascists.

Italian Fascism resembles German National Socialism in that both are middle-class movements. Middle class Italians made up the squads that smashed the trade union and Socialist Party headquarters and generally destroyed the organization of the proletariat. As in Germany, wealthy groups gave financial backing to the movement. Their ascendancy in society had been challenged by the wave of revolutionary sentiment and they were altogether willing to contribute to a movement that would make their position more secure.

A final point of similarity is the fact that Italian Fascism originally was a revolutionary movement. It is, of course, significant that Mussolini was a Socialist leader before the first World War. But it is

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even more significant that when he made his unsuccessful campaign for a seat in the Chamber in 1919 (after he had turned Fascist), he ran on a platform that among other things called for the confiscation of non-productive capital. The leader, who became the defender of the social order, started out as one of its mortal enemies.

The two great European democracies, Great Britain and France, have also had groups disseminating anti-revolutionary, anti-semitic ideologies. In England the chief group has been the British Union of Fascists, headed by Sir Oswald Mosley, a former Labor M.P., who is now involuntarily spending his time with the British authorities.<sup>16</sup> At the outset it should be noted that there have not been present in England two factors that have been invariably associated with the rise of anti-semitic ideology in all the other countries discussed so far. The two factors are national humiliation and a threat of revolution. England, a victor in the first World War, has as yet suffered no diplomatic defeat significant enough to produce national humiliation. Moreover, there has been no threatening growth of revolutionary ideology. The Conservative Party has been firmly in the saddle since 1931. The Labor Party, with its reformist program, is not a revolutionary party in the sense we are using the term. The only genuinely revolutionary groups in England—the Independent Labor Party and the Communists—have, of course, been insignificant.

The propaganda of the British Fascists has been very similar to that of Hitler. It has been intensely anti-semitic, emphasizing that aspect perhaps even more than its anti-revolutionary aspect. Mosley has made no effort to conceal his admiration for the German and Italian dictatorships. He has been photographed with Mussolini, and he has openly exchanged greetings with Julius Streicher, Germany's leading Jew-baiter. Despite his admiration for these foreign systems he has preached an intense nationalism and advocated a "strong" policy with respect to retention and government of the British Empire. Moreover, he has advocated the corporate state on the Italian model although he has gone into no details as to its structure.

The most significant fact about Mosley's group is its failure. It has never had a large following; it has never elected a member to Parliament; and since 1935 it has steadily declined in importance. Its failure is to be explained largely in terms of the absence of the two previously mentioned factors—national humiliation and a significant growth of revolutionary sentiment. A third factor that has made England barren soil for Mosley's ideology is the absence of an anti-semitic tradition. Contrast this situation with Germany, where anti-semitism as a political doctrine was half a century old when Hitler began his

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agitation. That the absence of a revolutionary menace contributed to Mosley's lack of success is clearly evident. The ideology he has circulated arose in continental Europe in situations where there was a significant amount of revolutionary sentiment, sometimes enough to make it seem that the social order was threatened. However, England has not been endangered by a revolutionary menace. Had Mosley endeavored to introduce his ideology during one of the Labor governments, he might have secured more followers. But with the Conservative Party firmly in power and the Labor Party offering no revolutionary challenge, the British Union of Fascists could hardly convince many Englishmen that revolution was just around the corner. In short, British Fascists found themselves in a more difficult position than their American counterparts. In America the New Deal was inaugurating a program of reform which could be interpreted to the politically unsophisticated as revolutionary; in England, such interpretation of the actions of the government was patently absurd.

Until its humiliating defeat in the summer of 1940, France had no important group disseminating anti-revolutionary, anti-semitic ideology. It has, of course, had several incipient national radical revolutionary movements in the *Croix de Feu* and the less well known *Jeu-nesses Patriotes* and the *Solidarite Francaise*.<sup>17</sup> Though none of these groups have been openly anti-semitic, they have all been intensely anti-revolutionary and nationalistic. Their anti-revolutionary propaganda, in common with that of all the groups examined so far, has tried to give the impression that the social order is in such immediate peril that the older conservative parties are of no value, that only their militant brand of opposition to revolution can save the state. It should be noted that violence has evidently been in the minds of those rank-and-file members of the *Croix de Feu* who have advocated a *coup d'etat* and that leader de la Rocque has on a number of occasions talked of the need for "drastic measures."

The organization of the *Croix de Feu* on the basis of a private army and its disciplinary characteristics have a good deal in common with Hitler's Storm Troops. The other French groups are organized on similar lines. All three groups appeal to a middle-class clientele. The nature of their anti-revolutionary ideology has shown no originality. It holds that the revolutionaries under democracy have been able to corrupt France and that they must be thrown out and France purified. Whether democracy should be preserved has not been mentioned. A mildly leftist government which was connected with the Stavisky scandal was an early target of anti-revolutionary sentiments. Disturbed economic conditions which the government did little to ameliorate

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later served to encourage these sentiments. A heyday was reached in 1934 and 1935. After that the strong leftist government of the Popular Front, alarmed at the growth of anti-revolutionary movements, took vigorous measures against them and they declined into obscurity. However, it is important to note that this anti-revolutionary ideology has shown signs of a revival—this time with an anti-semitic tinge. France in the Spring of 1941 fulfills so many of the conditions necessary for the spread of an anti-revolutionary, anti-semitic ideology that it is quite probably that a strong movement of this nature will develop out of the trends which have already become evident. Some scapegoat will have to be found to explain France's military collapse and the acute economic deprivations that are sweeping over the country. The Popular Front government, headed by the Jew, Leon Blum, and supported by the Socialist and Communist parties, seem to provide a simple explanation for France's misfortunes.

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Surveying the anti-revolutionary, anti-semitic movements in the seven countries we have examined, we can say that there are three conditions that stimulate their growth. These conditions are: a revolutionary movement, national humiliation, and widespread economic insecurity. In Germany, Italy, and Hungary all three of these factors have been present. In England and France, where the movement has to date been insignificant, one or more of the factors have been absent. In the other countries, these factors have existed to varying degrees. Regardless of country, however, all of the national radical revolutionary movements surveyed are militant defenders of the existing social practices and of the existing economic élite. They are militant defenders in the sense that there is always at least a suggestion that the defense against groups identified with the revolutionary ideology may require violence or drastic measures.

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## CHAPTER II

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### Anti-Semitism in the United States

THE MAJOR purpose of the foregoing analysis is to show that the anti-revolutionary, anti-semitic ideology that has recently appeared in the United States is not a unique phenomenon. Far from being distinctly American, the ideology may appear in any country under certain conditions. The America of 1933-1940 has had several of these conditions: a severe depression and, in the opinion of some persons, a serious growth of revolutionary ideology.

In dealing with the latter aspect, it should be noted that the growth of genuine revolutionary sentiment in the United States has, of course, been slight. True, the revolutionary parties have been attracting somewhat more attention than usual. True, the reformist policies of the New Deal have appeared comparatively "revolutionary". But there has been no sign of any genuine revolutionary movement of significant proportions.<sup>1</sup> This, however, may be beside the point. The important fact is that some Americans, believing that a revolutionary movement has been growing, have been alarmed. This fear and, of course, economic privation, are the motivating factors in the appearance of 121 anti-revolutionary, anti-semitic organizations during the years 1933-1940.

When these organizations first began to make their appearance, their ideology was not entirely new. Anti-semitism in the United States may be considered as a phase of the anti-alien sentiment that has periodically manifested itself. The Jew is the perpetual alien. Since he is frequently identified as a member of a separate group, he is invariably a victim of any anti-alien movement.

The first anti-alien movement in the United States occurred during the administration of John Adams and resulted in the passage of the Alien and Sedition Acts. Another such movement flourished in the 1850's in the form of the Know-Nothing or American Party, a secret political organization aimed chiefly against the Irish Catholic immigrants who had become supporters of the Democratic Party. A third movement, sponsored by the American Protective Association during the years 1887-1894, was also directed against Catholic immigrants. The great wave of immigration that began in the 1890's brought many

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Jews to American shores and resulted in an anti-alien movement which manifested itself in the restrictive immigration laws of 1921 and 1924 and in the widespread circulation of the Nordic race superiority theories propounded by such writers as Lothrop Stoddard and Madison Grant. Although anti-alien sentiment was not always specifically anti-Jewish, the Jew was invariably marked, along with Southern and Eastern Europeans, as a less desirable type of immigrant.<sup>2</sup>

Anti-semitism in its political form first appeared in the United States at the end of the World War. Previously, anti-semitism had expressed itself primarily in terms of social discrimination. At the time of the three earlier waves of anti-alien feeling there were too few Jews in the United States to attract serious attention. Between 1881 and the outbreak of the World War, however, some 2,000,000 European Jews entered the country. And when the fourth wave of anti-alien feeling broke in 1919, the Jewish population was large enough to make a sizeable target. The introduction of immigration quotas and the vaunting of Nordic racial superiority were not the only expressions of anti-semitism. As part of the post-war "Red Scare" large quantities of anti-semitic literature entered into circulation. This literature indicated the first effort in the United States to identify revolutionary ideology with the Jews. The Fellowship Forum and other groups distributed widely copies of the forged *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and similar propaganda. In May, 1920, Henry Ford began an anti-semitic campaign in his *Dearborn Independent*, continuing it until January, 1922. The Ku Klux Klan, which began to grow rapidly at this time, was, of course, frankly anti-semitic.<sup>3</sup>

Most of the prejudice of this period may be explained by the effects of the post-war depression, the rise of labor, and aroused nationalism. Moreover, the power of the Bolsheviks in Russia made the bogey of revolution seem highly realistic. And since the war had made minority groups suspect, it was not difficult to generate anti-Jewish feeling. Though the high point of prejudice was reached during 1920-1922, anti-semitic sentiment continued for several years thereafter. In 1924, Ford revived his anti-semitic campaign in the *Dearborn Independent* and kept it going for a year. But with the Klan's decline into insignificance by 1927, organized anti-semitism virtually disappeared.

In 1933, anti-semitism reappeared on the American scene—this time boldly and blatantly. The causal conditions were the depression, a slight growth of revolutionary sentiment, the initiation of New Deal reforms, and the successful rise to power of the rabidly anti-semitic Nazis in Germany.

To understand precisely how and why anti-semitism has circulated in



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America since 1933, it is necessary to examine the character of the proponent organizations. What are the personality types, occupations, and affiliations of the leaders? What is the class status, religion, and geographical distribution of the membership? How are funds raised? What sort of propaganda is issued and through what channels? To what extent do the groups cooperate? What objectives have they in common? These are the key questions to be answered.

Instead of attempting to cover with equal detail all of the 121 anti-semitic organizations that have arisen during the years 1933-1940, the following chapters deal primarily with eleven groups that may be considered the most typical and the most significant. The selection of the eleven groups is based upon an analysis of the entire field and the views of several competent authorities. A thorough knowledge of these groups will make it possible to examine the remaining 110 and will enable the formulation of some reasonably valid conclusions concerning the movement as a whole. The eleven organizations are:

German-American Bund  
Silver Shirts  
National Union for Social Justice  
Defenders of the Christian Faith  
Edmondson Economic Service  
American Vigilant Intelligence Federation  
Industrial Defense Association  
James True Associates  
American Christian Defenders  
Order of '76  
Paul Revers

The term "organization" is used here rather loosely. A few of the groups consist only of a leader, a letterhead, and a mailing list. An organization in the sense of membership, dues, meetings, and elected officers does not always exist. However, a rigid definition of the term "organization" is inadvisable since some of the groups are important just because they are not everything they seem to be.

A word concerning the problems peculiar to this subject. It is by no means a simple matter to obtain information detailing the geographical distribution and the exact number of copies of each kind of propaganda literature published, the exact fluctuations in membership from year to year, complete annual financial statements, etc. The groups covered in this study do not bother to keep complete records and those they do keep are not open for public inspection. In fact, a distinguishing feature of several of the organizations is a romantic secrecy. Moreover, the officers of these organizations freely suspect any investigator of being a "Jewish Red". The only way to

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get accurate and comprehensive data under these circumstances is through the employment of private detectives with experience in espionage. Since such an investigating method is out of the question, this study will necessarily have some gaps. Although precision and completeness has not been possible in all cases, an effort has been made to use as rigorous a technique of analysis as the nature of the material will permit.

So far nothing has been said concerning the number or importance of Jews or revolutionary groups in the United States. A brief statement of the most significant facts may clarify the complex background of this study. In 1937 the total number of Jews in the United States was 4,770,647.<sup>4</sup> Since the number of Jewish immigrants in the last few years has been small (as the subsequent figures indicate), this is a good approximation of the total American Jewish population today. More Jews live in the United States than in any other country in the world; Poland and Russia have been second and third respectively. Although American Jews constitute approximately 25 percent of the world's Jewry, they represent only 3.69 percent of the total American population.<sup>5</sup> The vast majority of American Jews reside in the great metropolitan areas of the country; about 69 percent live in the 11 largest cities:<sup>6</sup> New York, Chicago, Boston, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Detroit, Los Angeles, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, and Newark—42 percent in New York City alone.<sup>7</sup> This concentration in the largest cities is further illustrated by the fact that the average density of Jewish population in cities of more than 100,000 inhabitants is 11.11 percent, whereas in cities of 25,000 to 100,000 it is only 3.11 percent.<sup>8</sup> In smaller urban centers and in the unincorporated rural areas the percentages are 1.61 and 0.15 respectively.<sup>9</sup> These population densities naturally suggest that the greatest percentage of Jews will be found in those Northeastern states where the large cities are located. Such is the case: 78 percent reside in the states of New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Massachusetts, Ohio, and New Jersey.

About 3,500,000 of the 4,228,000 American Jews are of East European birth or descent.<sup>10</sup> These Jews are comparatively recent arrivals, having entered this country between 1881 and 1924. Although the story of Jewish immigration began with the landing of 23 Spanish and Portuguese Jews at New Amsterdam in 1654, as late as 1880 the Jews numbered no more than 250,000, about one-half of one percent of the total population.<sup>11</sup> From 1881 through 1936 the total net increase in the Jewish population was about 2,350,000.<sup>12</sup> About 70 percent came from Russia, 25 percent from Austria-Hungary and Roumania.<sup>13</sup> This huge exodus of Jews from Eastern Europe resulted chiefly from the

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brutal anti-semitic policy of the Russian Czarist government. In eight years of the period, Jews entered America at the rate of over 100,000 a year.<sup>14</sup> Quota revisions and restrictions in 1921 and 1924 cut Jewish immigration to a trickle, and after 1931 a severer application of the "likely to become a public charge" provision of the immigration law, further thinned the trickle. As a result, during the years 1931-1936 inclusive, only 26,042 Jews entered the country—an average of about 4,000 per year.<sup>15</sup>

American Jewry has played a significant role in the political and economic life of the nation. More than fifty Jews have served in Congress since the founding of the nation; of these, six have been Senators. Nineteen have been in the diplomatic service with the rank of Ambassador or Minister.<sup>16</sup> Three have served as Associate Justices of the United States Supreme Court. Nearly 200 have served as delegates to the Democratic National Conventions, and 176 as delegates to the Republican National Conventions. Every convention post except temporary and permanent chairman has been held at some time by a Jew.<sup>17</sup> Eight Jews have been governors of states, Lehman of New York and Horner of Illinois being the most widely known.<sup>18</sup> Maurice Maschke, for many years the undisputed Republican leader of Cleveland, and Sam Koenig, the Republican chief of New York County, were Jews. In addition, Jews have served in state legislatures, Federal courts, Cabinet posts, and in many administrative offices in Washington. Jews have been particularly prominent in the politics of New York, city and state, where they have obtained numerous elective and appointive positions and where no party slate is considered well balanced without its quota of Jewish candidates.

The majority of Jews, like the majority of non-Jews, occupy humble positions as employees; only a few exercise control or ownership.<sup>19</sup> In commercial banking, Jewish firms are of little importance, but in the field of investment banking they occupy a prominent though not dominant role. Among the larger Jewish investment banking houses are Kuhn, Loeb, and Company, Lehman Brothers, and J. and W. Seligman. In the heavy industries Jews play a very minor role, with two exceptions: the scrap iron business and the Guggenheim copper interests. In the light industries, the Jews, though somewhat prominent, are confined to narrow sectors. The near monopoly enjoyed by Jews in the manufacturing of men's and women's clothing is traditional, and about half of the alcoholic liquor distillers are Jewish. In the silk, wool, and tobacco trades, Jews are usually not the manufacturers but the jobbers. Jews have been particularly active in the retailing, newspaper, broadcasting, theatrical, and motion picture fields.

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The majority of New York's large department stores and a few of the national chain department and apparel stores are owned or controlled by Jews. The Ochs interests, J. David Stern, Paul Block, and Emanuel P. Adler own a number of important newspapers, the total circulation of which is 1,368,000. (Non-Jews own newspaper chains with much larger circulations: Hearst, 5,500,000; Patterson-McCormick, 2,332,000; and Scripps-Howard, 1,794,000.) Executives of Jewish descent direct the two large radio chains, the National Broadcasting Company and Columbia Broadcasting System. In the theatre, slightly more than 50 percent of the producers are Jewish. In the motion picture industry, although much more than 50 percent of the producers are Jewish, their control is not monopolistic. Perhaps a summary measure of Jewish influence in American industry may be obtained by examining the 80,000 names listed in Poor's *Register of Directors*. Only 4.7 percent appear to be Jewish. Any error in this percent owing to the possession by Jews of names common to other peoples would probably be approximately balanced by the inclusion of non-Jews with "Jewish-sounding" names.

The role of Jewry in the medical and legal professions is noteworthy. The Jew as a group has contributed a larger proportion of physicians and lawyers than any other group. Nevertheless, it is doubtful that the Jews' influence in these professions is in proportion to their number. Jews do not usually obtain the most desirable legal positions, nor are they represented, in proportion to their professional numbers, on hospital medical boards.

This survey of the role of Jews in American political and economic life is incomplete in one vital respect. It omits those sectors where Jewish participation is too small to be easily discernible.

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Since this study is concerned with anti-revolutionary, anti-semitic groups, it is advisable not only to survey the place of Jews in American life but also to analyze the importance of revolutionary parties in the United States. A revolutionary party has been defined as one which demands fundamental changes in social practices.<sup>20</sup> Only two parties large enough to deserve attention fall within this definition—the Socialist and the Communist parties. These two parties differ from each other chiefly in that the Communists believe in the necessity of using radical methods in achieving their goal, whereas the Socialists believe in the possibility of realizing the same fundamental changes by gradual means. Our chief interest is in the number of persons affiliated or in sympathy with each of these parties. Estimates can be based on the

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number of votes received by the Presidential candidates of the parties, for the Presidential vote presumably includes not only the dues-paying party members but also party sympathizers. The data given in the accompanying table indicate the percentage of the total Presidential vote received by revolutionary party candidates. For the Socialist Party the figures go back to 1900; for the Communist Party, to 1924.

Table 1

PERCENTAGE OF PRESIDENTIAL VOTES RECEIVED BY REVOLUTIONARY CANDIDATES

| Election Year | Socialist Vote    | Communist Vote    | Total |
|---------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------|
| 1900.....     | 0.68              | ....              | 0.68  |
| 1904.....     | 2.96              | ....              | 2.96  |
| 1908.....     | 2.85              | ....              | 2.85  |
| 1912.....     | 5.96              | ....              | 5.96  |
| 1916.....     | 3.15              | ....              | 3.15  |
| 1920.....     | 3.45              | ....              | 3.45  |
| 1924.....     | .... <sup>1</sup> | 0.12 <sup>2</sup> | 0.12  |
| 1928.....     | 0.73              | 0.13              | 0.86  |
| 1932.....     | 2.22              | 0.26              | 2.48  |
| 1936.....     | 0.41              | 0.17              | 0.58  |

<sup>1</sup>The Socialist Party did not run a candidate in 1924 but instead supported Senator LaFollette.

<sup>2</sup>The Communist Party ran its first Presidential candidate in 1924, three years after it was organized.

Table I brings out two significant facts: first, the strength of revolutionary parties in this country is exceedingly small; second, the revolutionary parties show no increase in strength over the years. The second fact is particularly significant because some persons contend that although revolutionary parties are small at present they are steadily increasing in strength and will some day be a formidable menace. The table not only disproves this contention, but shows that revolutionary parties have been declining in strength. The period 1904-1920 was the golden age of revolutionary parties in the United States. In 4 of the 5 presidential elections of this period the Socialist party consistently polled about 3 percent of the votes, and in one election received nearly 6 percent. Since then the combined vote of the two revolutionary parties has only once (1932) approached the 3 percent mark; in the other recent elections, they did not get even 1 percent of the Presidential vote.

## CHAPTER III

### The German-American Bund

THE GERMAN-AMERICAN BUND (*Amerika-Deutscher Volksbund*), known originally as the Friends of the New Germany, is the best known and most widely-publicized of the anti-revolutionary, anti-semitic groups. It has been the subject of numerous newspaper and magazine articles and its activities have been investigated and aired by two Congressional bodies, the McCormack and Dies Committees.<sup>1</sup>

The Friends of the New Germany was organized at a convention in Chicago on June 30, 1932.<sup>2</sup> Although new, this group was an outgrowth of other organizations advocating Nazi principles. In the United States the first German society with Nazi sympathies was a Chicago organization formed in October 1924 and called Teutonia.<sup>3</sup> It never prospered in membership, and in 1932, just before it dissolved, it could count 50 members in Chicago, and a dozen more in an allied group in Detroit. Many of these members had been active in "fighting communism" in Germany in the years immediately following the World War.<sup>4</sup> Teutonia's importance lies in the fact that its ranks included many men who later became the leaders of the Friends of the New Germany.

Early in 1932, locals of the National Socialist German Labor Party began to spring up in the United States. By April of the same year, a local had appeared in New York City, another in Chicago (supplanting Teutonia), and yet another in Detroit.<sup>5</sup> By March 1933 four more locals had sprouted in Cincinnati, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Hudson County (N. J.).<sup>6</sup> These groups were very definitely branches of the Nazi Party of Germany and they took orders from it. When in April, 1933, Rudolf Hess, then assistant Fuhrer of the Nazi Party, ordered them to dissolve, they obeyed promptly.<sup>7</sup> Two months later, men who had been active leaders of the Nazi locals held a convention in Chicago and created the Friends of the New Germany. Presumably, former Nazi Party members constituted much of the charter membership of the Friends.

Another group that preceded the Friends of the New Germany and was later absorbed by it, was the Friends of Germany. Despite the

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similarity of name, these were two separate organizations. The Friends of Germany was organized in the spring of 1933, only a few months earlier than the Friends of New Germany. The Friends of Germany had a membership of American citizens and its purpose was apparently to provide a channel through which American citizens, who were barred from membership in the Nazi Party, might express their sympathy for Nazi Germany. Its organizer was an American citizen, a Colonel Emerson.<sup>8</sup> His office, which served as the headquarters and meeting place, was in Room 131, 17 Battery Place, New York City. On the same floor was the office of the German Consul-General of New York. The proximity of the two offices suggests that perhaps the Friends of Germany had not sprung up spontaneously and that although the leadership and membership of the group were American the real impetus was definitely German.

The Friends of Germany was not a large group, but it was influential in distributing propaganda throughout the country. The organization conscientiously carried out the following promise contained in its letter soliciting members: "we shall send you as occasion arises, free of cost, authentic information about the latest events in Germany". For about a year, the Friends of Germany and the Friends of the New Germany worked in the same fields without any conflict. Then, in May of 1934, the Friends of Germany quietly retired after suggesting to its members that they join the Friends of the New Germany. The final letter sent to its membership read in part:

In recognition of the fulfillment of the major aims of this Society, the executive board of the Friends of Germany at its last meeting concluded that the mission of our Society is virtually accomplished.

Accordingly the board accepted the offered resignations of the chairman, treasurer, and secretary . . . so it was resolved to cease further activities in the name of the Friends of Germany.

In view of the circumstance that our Society shortly after its inception was followed by another organization, known as the League of the Friends of the New Germany (*Bund der Freunde des Neuen Deutschland*), some of the aims of which may appeal to those of our former members who might welcome another outlet for betokening their goodwill to Germany, we submit to your consideration the enclosed printed statement from that Society, in which the two undersigned already enjoy membership.

After consultation between the officers of that Society and ours it was agreed that former members of our Friends of Germany, who had sent us one dollar, would be absolved of paying the customary initiation fee of one dollar to the *Bund der Freunde des Neuen Deutschland*, in case they join the Bund.

These, then, were the two predecessors of the Friends of the New

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Germany—the Nazi Party locals and the Friends of Germany.<sup>9</sup> In 1934, a year after its founding, the Friends of the New Germany had nearly 5,000 members. Considerable publicity and internal struggles for leadership accompanied its subsequent growth. At a convention in Buffalo on March 29, 1936, it changed its name to the German-American Bund.

### LEADERSHIP

Since Bund leaders run the organization dictatorially, information about their backgrounds, prejudices, and techniques is extremely important. The first Bund leader was Heinz Spanknoebel, a young German photo-engraver, who entered the United States under the false assertion that he was a clergyman. In a letter to Walter Kappe, an important Bund member, he had asseverated that he was entitled to his post by virtue of "full authorizations from the Supreme Party Office [in Germany] as well as from the Ministry of Propaganda."<sup>10</sup> Fritz Gissibl, formerly prominent in Teutonia, was second in command. Rivalry arose between Spanknoebel on the one hand and Gissibl and Kappe on the other. Then, in the fall of 1933, a Federal warrant was issued for the arrest of Spanknoebel on the grounds that he was acting as an agent for Germany without being an accredited attaché of the German diplomatic or consular service and that he had failed to notify the State Department of his activities. When a Grand Jury in New York City indicted him in November 1933 he suddenly disappeared.<sup>11</sup> His office was promptly taken by Fritz Gissibl, a 31-year-old German citizen and a resident of the United States since 1923. For a brief period Gissibl lived in Chicago, working as a pressman for the *Chicago Daily News*. In 1926 he joined the Teutonia and became a very active member. When the magazine *Today* announced in late March 1934 that it would run a series of articles exposing the Nazis in America, Gissibl hastily resigned from office. His successor was Reinhold Walter, an American citizen. Although born in Germany, Walter had spent 28 of his 50 years in the United States and had been a naturalized citizen for 17 years. Presumably, his citizenship was to give the Bund a truly American character. Walter, however, was merely a figurehead, as he himself admitted to the McCormack Committee.<sup>12</sup> Gissibl remained the real power in the Bund and even continued to draw a regular salary.<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless Walter was not always willing to be a "yes" man, for on one occasion he called the police in an effort to expel Gissibl and his cohorts. In July 1934 Gissibl ousted Walter and appointed Herbert Schnuch, a naturalized citizen with a college degree, and a former president of Teutonia. At this time the two most influential men in the organization, though neither held office,



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were Gissibl and Kappe, both aliens.<sup>14</sup> Kappe, also a former president of Teutonia, was the editor of the organization's newspaper, the *Deutsches Zeitung* (subsequently called the *Deutscher Beobachter*). In the nominal regime of Schnuch, internal warfare lasting eight months broke out.

Dr. Herbert Schnuch, the national leader of the Friends of New Germany, had named Anton Haegele as assistant national leader. These two men were working together harmoniously, until in the latter part of December, 1934, Haegele and a group of his adherents, by a *putsch*, took possession of the offices and the physical effects of the New York headquarters of the Friends of the New Germany including control of the official organ, the *Deutscher Beobachter*. From then on a ferocious internal strife raged. . . .<sup>15</sup>

Schnuch dragged the fight into court in an unsuccessful effort to win the return of the *Beobachter* and headquarters. Charges and counter-charges were hurled back and forth. Virtually all the charges Haegele made against Schnuch—terrorism, misappropriation of funds, and the like—Schnuch made against Haegele. By the fall of 1935, Haegele apparently realized that he could not hope to gain control of the organization, for he retired from it and with his adherents formed a new group, the *Bund des Amerikan National Socialists* or the American National Socialist League. This group soon passed quietly out of existence.

On December 1, 1935, Fritz J. Kuhn became head of the Friends of the New Germany.<sup>16</sup> Kuhn, born in Munich in 1895, has had a colorful past. Throughout the four years of the World War he served with the German Army and saw service on four different fronts—French, Italian, Serbian, and Roumanian.<sup>17</sup> After the war, he studied chemistry in Munich and participated in the troubled politics of post-war Germany. In 1919 he was a member of the *Epp Freikorps* and in 1921 he was active in the *Oberland Freikorps*.<sup>18</sup>

In 1923, Kuhn left Germany and went to Mexico. Exactly why he left his native land is not entirely clear. When questioned before the Dies Committee on this point, he answered:

Because the revolution was going on; inflation was there. Every second man was out of work. I lost my job. I had a very good job with one of the greatest chemical concerns. We were thrown out by the French Army of Occupation. A colored regiment came in. A woman was not safe any more there. I had to take my wife away, because they attacked right and left. There was not any work in Germany at all. Every second one was out of work. And if a man had a job he got a salary he could not live on. I had to go somewhere.<sup>19</sup>

Though this statement offered some insight into the economic con-

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ditions out of which Naziism arose and which evidently made Kuhn sympathetic with the movement, Kuhn's reasons for leaving Germany did not jibe with the testimony presented by other witnesses. Gerhard Segar, publisher of a German language newspaper in New York City, told the Dies Committee:

In 1921 Mr. Kuhn was convicted and sentenced to four months imprisonment for petty theft. He had ransacked the pockets of the overcoats of his fellow students in the university building of Munich. When he was released from jail it was difficult for him, as a former convict, to find a position. Upon urgent request of his parents, a Jewish friend of the family by the name of Mr. Reinhold Spitz took him into his warehouse. Mr. Kuhn rewarded the old friend of his family and his benefactor by stealing merchandise in the value of 2,000 marks. It was only upon the urgent request of Mr. Kuhn's parents that his benefactor refrained from notifying the police, and Mr. Spitz discharged Mr. Kuhn; his last good deed to the family by Mr. Spitz was that he participated in setting up a fund in order to send Mr. Kuhn abroad to Mexico.<sup>20</sup>

Benefactor Spitz, now a resident of the United States, presented this information in an affidavit. Segar published the facts in his newspaper and challenged Kuhn to bring suit against him for libel. Although Kuhn has frequently instituted libel suits he has never accepted Segar's challenge. Nor did he ever publicly deny the charges of theft. Naturally, Kuhn's subsequent conviction in 1939 for embezzling Bund funds, lent substance to Segar's charges.

While in Mexico from 1923 until 1927, Kuhn worked as an industrial chemist. He entered the United States in 1927 and obtained a position at the Ford hospital laboratory in Detroit. Several years later he was transferred to Ford's Rouge River plant in Dearborn.<sup>21</sup> In 1933 he became an American citizen.<sup>22</sup> Exactly when he became affiliated with the Friends of New Germany is not known, but the group's own paper has declared that he joined the organization at its inception, which presumably means June 1933.<sup>23</sup> For two years he was leader of the Detroit local; and from September, 1935, until December of same year (when he was made national head of the organization), he was the leader of the *Gau Mittelwest* (the Mid-West District), one of the three areas into which the organization was divided for purposes of national administration. The procedure by which Kuhn originally obtained the national leadership is not entirely clear. All that is known is his confirmation as the national leader at the 1936 convention of the Friends. At the next convention, held on July 4, 1937, he was unanimously reelected for a four-year term.

Kuhn's leadership ended in December 1939 when a New York court

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sentenced him to four years in the penitentiary for stealing Bund funds. His successor and the present head of the Bund is G. Wilhelm Kunze. Kunze first distinguished himself as leader of the Philadelphia local, which he built up into a powerful organization, although small in membership. Later he became the National Director of Public Relations and National Field Representative, posts he held until his rise to his present position. He is one of the few leading Bundists who speaks perfect English as well as perfect German. All his actions have indicated that he is a capable leader.

The relations between the leaders and the rank-and-file members of the German-American Bund are not particularly democratic. Generally, the Nazi *fürher prinzip* (leadership principle) applies. The pledge of applicants for membership in the Bund includes this statement: "I acknowledge the leadership principle according to which the League is being directed."<sup>24</sup> Similarly, the code of an *Ordnungs Dienst* man (Storm Trooper) states: "Like the whole movement, he stands for the leadership principle." On the other hand, the management of the Bund is not wholly undemocratic to judge by its constitution of 1936. The organization's national convention is empowered to "elect a National Leader, who in turn shall have the power to nominate and with the advice and consent of the national convention, shall appoint" nine other national officers.<sup>25</sup> District (*gau*) Leaders are supposed to be appointed by the National Leader with the advice and consent of the national convention,<sup>26</sup> but local leaders, appointed by District Leaders, are subject to the approval of the National Leader.<sup>27</sup>

To what extent are Bund leaders subservient to orders from abroad? Are they puppets in the hands of Nazi officials in Germany or are they leaders in their own right? Evidence obtained by both the McCormack and Dies Committees plainly shows that they have frequently taken orders from Berlin.

The testimony also shows that the Friends of the New Germany had a select committee . . . appointed by the party leaders to hear all complaints against members for violations of the rules, regulations, and orders of the movement in the United States, and that some of the recommendations of such committee were forwarded to the proper officials in Germany for final action.

When under cross-examination, Fritz Gissibl, one-time head of the Friends, admitted unequivocally that he was taking orders from abroad.

Questioner: You were taking orders, of course, from Germany. There is no question about that?

Gissibl: I was taking orders, yes, sir. . . .

Questioner: In any event, you took instructions from high officials in the party in Germany.

Gissibl: Yes, I did.<sup>28</sup>

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Another significant instance of a leader's taking orders from abroad was indicated by the following cable from Spanknoebel to Rudolf Hess, Secretary of the National Socialist German Labor Party:

Party member Richard Schollbach possesses letter supreme party office containing announcement his installation confidential agent party U. S. A. Reestablishment party organization or installation additional party representatives gravest political consequences unavoidable. Schollbach irresponsible trouble maker. Such incomprehensible measures destroy everything built up so far. Urgently request finding out which office responsible. Confirm by cable my sole responsibility otherwise uncalculable consequences.<sup>29</sup>

Clearly, Spanknoebel was not head of the Friends of the New Germany in his own right. When a question of authority arose, he had to turn to someone higher to settle it and this someone higher was an important member of Hitler's cabinet.

Foreign domination of the movement has been evidenced in many other instances. Nazi secret police have kidnapped to Germany both Spanknoebel,<sup>30</sup> and a Mr. Weber.<sup>31</sup> The latter was very active in the Brooklyn local; his immigration papers "were not in such good shape" and when his arrest by American authorities appeared imminent and would have been embarrassing to the organization, he vanished. In another instance, Bohle, head of the Foreign Department of the National Socialist German Labor Party, ordered Reinhold Walter to replace Gissibl as leader of the Friends of New Germany.<sup>32</sup> When Rudolph Hess issued his deceptive ukase that all German citizens living abroad refrain from mixing in the politics of their resident country, the Bund promptly complied by limiting its membership to American citizens and by requiring its alien members to become naturalized. The ukase appeared on the front page of the New York *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter* on December 19, 1935, accompanied by an editorial stating that the Bund was "firmly resolved to carry out the order strictly."

Many German Consuls in the United States have cooperated closely with the Bund. Typical was the evidence brought out in a letter written by Spanknoebel, head of the Bund: "Our office here leans heavily on the Consul-General. . . ." <sup>33</sup> Another instance was Gissibl's testimony that after he resigned the nominal leadership of the Bund, Dr. Johannes Borchers, the German Consul-General in New York, cautioned him to keep out of the Bund since membership in it was incompatible with membership in the Nazi Party.<sup>34</sup> In a letter to Spanknoebel, Reinhold Freytag, the Consul in St. Louis, assured him of close cooperation, and furnished him with the names of St. Louis

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residents who could help form a Bund local.<sup>35</sup> Consul-General Baron Manfred von Killinger of San Francisco has spoken before Bund locals several times. On one occasion he accompanied the Los Angeles Consul to a picnic of the local Bund group. The Vice-Consul at Pittsburgh has been well known for his active participation in Bund meetings. Schwinn, the Bund's District Leader on the Pacific Coast, and the Los Angeles Consul, Dr. Gyssling, have been on particularly good terms; the Consul once gave Schwinn \$145 to further Bund activities.<sup>36</sup> Films of important activities in Nazi Germany, which are frequently shown at Bund meetings, are sent to the Bund in care of the German Embassy in Washington and the Consul-General in New York.<sup>37</sup> Although the Consuls have not necessarily given orders to the Bund, they are sometimes instructed to aid the Bund. As proof, Fritz Kuhn's boast to an aide, who subsequently turned out to be a secret investigator, may be cited:

You see, I have a certain special arrangement with Hitler and Germany that whenever any of our groups have trouble with the Consulates in their districts they are to report it to me at once in full detail. I then take it up with the Ambassador, and Germany is not to be troubled with it unless I get no satisfaction from the Ambassador.

That is exactly why there is a new Ambassador to the United States and this is exactly why many Consuls have been and still are being removed. All new Consuls are National Socialists and under special instructions to give us the fullest cooperation in every way.<sup>38</sup>

Other instances of German control abound. Severin Winterscheidt, for three years managing editor and advertising manager of the *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*, visited Erlangen, Germany, on September 10, 1936, and was sworn in by Julius Streicher as a representative of Nazi propaganda. Since then Winterscheidt has spoken at numerous rallies of the Bund. (These facts came out in connection with Winterscheidt's sentence to the New York County Penitentiary on charges of indecent exposure and endangering the morals of a minor.) In the summer of 1937, Schwinn, the West Coast Bund leader, and his assistant, Karl Hein, spent six weeks in Germany taking a course in propaganda offered by Dr. Goebbels' Ministry of Propaganda and Public Enlightenment. The trip was paid for through a secret agreement between Kuhn and the Nazi Government.<sup>39</sup> Schwinn made a practice of visiting German ships while they were in port in order to give the captains material he wanted sent back to Germany—usually reports of the status of Bund activities in America.<sup>40</sup> In at least one instance visiting German naval officers have been used to check on the work of Bund leaders. In 1936 several officers from the German cruiser *Karlsruhe* were instructed to make such a report.

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The Bund's frequently repeated assertion that it is subject to no foreign control is disputed by the very statements of high Nazi officials. The head of the *Auslandsdeutsches Institut* (League of Germans Abroad), Wilhelm Bohle, spoke with full authority when he said:

Loyalty, discipline, and blind obedience are the foundation pillars of every branch of the National Socialist government. The loose contact and the distance in mileage between party comrades abroad, even though the organizations for Germans abroad is a solid unit, render these three virtues more necessary than ever for those of us in foreign countries. Therefore we are doing right when we keep our organizations abroad free of all racial comrades who are not ready to adhere to the absolute discipline customary with us.<sup>41</sup> (My emphasis—D. S. S.)

Moreover, the Bund's assertion hardly squares with the following decree issued by the Reich Minister of Education:

I therefore order that all persons subject to my ministry who travel abroad for study, research, or lectures, or for congresses, or similar purposes, shall on their arrival in a foreign country forthwith get into contact with the foreign organization of the Nazi party. . . .<sup>42</sup> (My emphasis—D. S. S.)

Nor does the Bund's assertion jibe with the role of Nazi group leaders in foreign countries, as defined by the official publication of the League of Germans Abroad:

Just as the Ambassador, the Envoy, and the Consul represent the government of the Reich abroad, so is the National Socialist group leader the standard bearer of the foreign organization, the representative of the movement for German reconstruction and German conservation. He is the representative of the German nation abroad.<sup>43</sup>

And by its own admission the Bund is the authorized representative of the Nazi dictatorship, for one of its yearbooks boldly proclaims:

We stand here as the heralds of the Third Reich, as preachers of the German world viewpoint, of National Socialism, which has displayed before the eyes of the world the incomparable German miracle, the miracle of National Socialism.<sup>44</sup>

### MEMBERSHIP

Applicants for membership in the Bund must take the following pledge:

I herewith declare my entry into the League of the Friends of the New Germany. The purpose and aim of the League are known to me and I obligate myself to support them without reservation.

I acknowledge the leadership principle according to which the League is being directed.

I do not belong to any secret organization of any kind (Freemasons, etc.). I am of Aryan descent, free of Jewish or colored racial traces.

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Various membership restrictions have not always been enforced. Reinhold Walter has testified that "everyone applying for membership has been accepted."<sup>45</sup> No reference to American citizenship appeared in the Bund membership requirements until December, 1935, when Rudolf Hess made his guileful statement concerning the political conduct of German citizens living abroad. As a strategic move of self protection against being labeled foreign, the Bund recently revised its membership qualifications and its constitution now contains the following clause:

Membership in this Bund is primarily open to all American and prospective citizens of Aryan blood, of German extraction and of good reputation. Membership may also be extended to other national elements filling the requirements of our membership application. (Article IV, Section 1.)

The phrase "other national elements" probably excludes resident aliens of other than German extraction. The provision for admitting "prospective citizens," however, leaves the Bund's door open to an influx of aliens. To what extent this has occurred will be considered later.

The number of Bund members has been greatly exaggerated. Newspaper and magazine articles have estimated the number at 100,000 or 125,000. On July 27, 1937, Representative Samuel Dickstein told his fellow Congressmen that the Bund had 350,000 members. These figures are absurdly high; 25,000 is a generous estimate of even the peak membership. In October 1933 the national membership was only 400 or 500, but during the next nine months it expanded rapidly and by summer 1934 reached 5,000. Late in 1935 the membership rolls suffered losses when Anton Haegele and his followers seceded to form the American National Socialist Party; and in December of the same year the order from Hess forcing aliens out of the organization caused a further loss.

In September 1937 the *Chicago Daily Times*, which had three reporters making a careful study of the Bund from within, estimated the membership at 20,000.<sup>46</sup> In January 1938 the Department of Justice, after a cursory investigation, put the figure at 8,500.<sup>47</sup> In August 1938 a special investigator for the Dies' Committee estimated the number of members at 25,000. When questioned on this point a year later by the Dies' Committee, Fritz Kuhn replied, "Well, very roughly, around 20,000." Thus, the best available, recent estimates put the membership at between 20,000 and 25,000. Incidentally, the imprisonment of Kuhn and the change to a new leader has not produced any disintegration of the movement or loss of membership.

The number of Bund locals, geographically well-distributed, has

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been growing steadily. In 1934 there were 40 locals;<sup>48</sup> in 1937 there were 55;<sup>49</sup> in 1939 there were 71.<sup>50</sup> All local units are distributed among three districts or *gaue*. The following list of locals was recently presented by Kuhn to the Dies Committee:<sup>51</sup>

### Eastern District (*Gau Ost*)

|                               |                               |                                     |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Albany (N. Y.)                | Lancaster (Pa.)               | Reading (Pa.)                       |
| Astoria (N. Y.)               | Lindenhurst, (N. Y.)          | Rochester (N. Y.)                   |
| Baltimore (Md.)               | Nassau County (N. Y.)         | Rockland County                     |
| Bergen County (N. J.)         | New Britain (Conn.)           | (N. Y.)                             |
| Boston (Mass.)                | New Haven (Conn.)             | Schenectady (N. Y.)                 |
| Bridgeport (Conn.)            | New Rochelle (N. Y.)          | Sellersville (Pa.)                  |
| Bronx (N. Y.)                 | New York (N. Y.) <sup>a</sup> | South Brooklyn (N. Y.) <sup>4</sup> |
| Brooklyn (N. Y.) <sup>1</sup> | Newark (N. J.)                | Stamford (Conn.)                    |
| Buffalo (N. Y.)               | Ossining (N. Y.)              | Staten Island (N. Y.) <sup>5</sup>  |
| Glendale (N. Y.)              | Passaic County (N. J.)        | Syracuse (N. Y.)                    |
| Greenwich (Conn.)             | Philadelphia (Pa.)            | Troy (N. Y.)                        |
| Hartford (Conn.)              | Pittsburgh (Pa.)              | Utica (N. Y.)                       |
| Hudson County (N. J.)         | Poughkeepsie (N. Y.)          | White Plains (N. Y.)                |
| Jamaica (N. Y.) <sup>2</sup>  | Providence (R. I.)            |                                     |

### Mid-West District (*Gau Mittelwest*)

|                   |                     |                      |
|-------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| Chicago, (Ill.)   | Indianapolis (Ind.) | Sheboygan (Wis.)     |
| Cincinnati (O.)   | Kenosha (Wis.)      | South Bend (Ind.)    |
| Cleveland (O.)    | Milwaukee (Wis.)    | South Chicago (Ill.) |
| Dayton (O.)       | Minneapolis (Minn.) | Taylor (Tex.)        |
| Detroit (Mich.)   | Omaha (Nebr.)       | Toledo (O.)          |
| Fort Wayne (Ind.) | St. Louis (Mo.)     |                      |
| Gary (Ind.)       | St. Paul (Minn.)    |                      |

### Western District (*Gau West*)

|                      |                        |                        |
|----------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| Los Angeles (Calif.) | San Diego (Calif.)     | Santa Barbara (Calif.) |
| Oakland (Calif.)     | San Francisco (Calif.) | Seattle (Wash.)        |
| Petaluma (Calif.)    | San Gabriel Valley     | Spokane (Wash.)        |
| Portland (Oreg.)     | (Calif.)               |                        |

<sup>1</sup> A borough of New York city.

<sup>2</sup> In the borough of Queens, New York City.

<sup>3</sup> The borough of Manhattan, New York City.

<sup>4</sup> In the borough of Brooklyn, New York City.

<sup>5</sup> A borough of New York City.

It is noteworthy that 17 of the 69 locals are within the metropolitan region of New York. Among these 17 are the largest locals. Kuhn has testified that about 40 percent of the Bund membership is in the Greater New York area.<sup>52</sup>

### Citizenship Characteristics

Aliens outnumbered citizens in the Friends of the New Germany in its early years. Table 2 lists as of early 1934 the number of citizens



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and aliens in each of the 13 important locals. Not only did aliens make up 64 percent of the membership of the organization but the remaining 36 percent consisted of naturalized rather than native-born citizens. In other words, second generation German-Americans and persons of more remote German ancestry showed virtually no interest in the organization.

Table 2

NUMBER OF CITIZENS AND ALIENS IN THIRTEEN LOCALS OF THE BUND

| Local                      | Membership | Citizens | Aliens |
|----------------------------|------------|----------|--------|
| Brooklyn.....              | 458        | 126      | 332    |
| Buffalo.....               | 106        | 38       | 68     |
| Chicago.....               | 237        | 88       | 149    |
| Cincinnati.....            | 69         | 22       | 47     |
| Clifton (N. J.).....       | 54         | 21       | 33     |
| Detroit.....               | 276        | 171      | 105    |
| Hudson County (N. J.)..... | 162        | 65       | 97     |
| Los Angeles.....           | 118        | 45       | 73     |
| Newark.....                | 100        | 25       | 75     |
| Philadelphia.....          | 200        | 62       | 138    |
| Rochester (N. Y.).....     | 17         | 5        | 12     |
| San Francisco.....         | 99         | 24       | 75     |
| White Plains (N. Y.).....  | 40         | 9        | 31     |
| Total.....                 | 1,936      | 701      | 1,235  |

Table 3, compiled from another source,<sup>53</sup> shows that the Chicago local in 1934 had only two native-born citizens in a membership of 237!

Table 3

ALIEN, NATURALIZED, AND NATIVE-BORN MEMBERS OF BUND'S CHICAGO LOCAL

| Aliens:          | Naturalized Citizens: | Native-born Citizens: |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Germans..... 146 | German birth... 84    |                       |
| Austrian..... 2  | Austrian birth... 2   |                       |
| Swiss..... 1     |                       |                       |
| Total: 237       | 149                   | 86                    |

That the Chicago local is not exceptional is shown by the testimony of Mr. Kruppa, a Bund official.<sup>54</sup>

Questioner: The old-line American of German blood has not been involved in the movement, has he?  
Mr. Kruppa: Very little.

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Questioner: That is what the evidence before this committee discloses. Outside of a very few . . . the American of German blood, the old-line American of German blood is more or less passive.

Mr. Kruppa: Correct.

The smallness of the recently-formed locals in such cities as Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Milwaukee, which have a large population of German extraction, is a further significant indication. As a St. Louis Bund member has put it, "The old Germans of St. Louis are so American they don't want anything to do with us."<sup>55</sup> This does not mean that the members are all recent immigrants. The Chicago local has some men 60 or 70 years of age who came to this country in their teens.

Conditions have not changed considerably since 1934. To be sure, the order from Hess has supposedly banned German citizens from the Bund, and the Bund's spokesmen and its literature have taken great pains to make the organization "American". But all the evidence indicates that the Bund now has almost as large an alien membership as it has ever had. At its secret convention in New York on April 21, 1938, the Bund admitted that 45 percent of its members were German citizens.

The Bund has resorted to devious ruses to conceal its alien membership. In Chicago it formed a separate group for aliens, the *Deutscher Volksbund*.<sup>56</sup> Other locals have used similar subterfuges. Sometimes the names of alien members are kept in a different part of the membership book. For all practical purposes, however, there is no difference. Alien members participate in all Bund activities and are subordinate to Bund officers in every way. The attempt at separation has been made to avoid embarrassment in the event of further Congressional investigation.

It is possible to make reasonably accurate generalizations concerning the economic status of Bund members. One approach is to note in newspaper articles the references to the vocations of Bund members. Accordingly, the membership in New York includes, for example, a retired physician, a perfume salesman, a watch importer, an electrical contractor, a barber, a delicatessen dealer, a pastry chef; in Cleveland, a dentist, a hotel bartender, the sports editor of a local German paper, and a designer of bronze gadgets; in Pittsburgh, a mechanical engineer and a "naturopath"; in Chicago, a photographer, a bartender, and an expert hairdresser; in Milwaukee, a designing engineer; in South Bend, Indiana, a cobbler, a contractor, and a janitor; in Oakland, California, a waiter and a cook. According to Dr. Erick von Schroeder, a prominent anti-Nazi leader, Bund members are definitely "middle-class". He attributes the paucity of workmen in the Bund to the fact

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that workmen who have emigrated from Germany have been Social Democrats.

A more scientific approach is to study the addresses of Bund members in the light of census data on median rentals. The addresses of Chicago Bund members, for example, can be "spotted" in various census sub-communities and the median rental for these areas noted. In their volume, *Census Data of the City of Chicago*, Ernest W. Burgess and Charles Newcomb have divided the monthly rentals of 832,291 homes into five approximately equal classes designated as highest, high, middle, low, and lowest. Each class has a range of rentals. If no one economic class predominates in the Bund, 20 percent of the members should fall in each of these classes. The results of this analysis are shown in Table 4.

Table 4  
ECONOMIC CLASS DISTRIBUTION OF CHICAGO BUND MEMBERS

| Economic Class | Number of Homes | Median Rentals per Month | Percent of Bund Members |
|----------------|-----------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| Highest.....   | 166,525         | \$43.6—\$178.6           | 3.9%                    |
| High.....      | 167,612         | 36.9— 43.5               | 17.7                    |
| Middle.....    | 168,101         | 29.3— 36.8               | 17.7                    |
| Low.....       | 164,326         | 21.1— 29.2               | 37.                     |
| Lowest.....    | 165,727         | 8.9— 21.0                | 23.5                    |

The outstanding fact is that 60.5 percent of the Bund members come from the low and lowest rental groups, whereas only 21.6 percent come from the high and highest groups. These statistics, together with von Schroeder's opinion and the virtual absence of manual vocations in newspaper references, clearly indicate that Bundists are "lower middle class."

The foregoing examination justifies a few valid conclusions. Almost all members of the Bund were born in Germany and about half are still German citizens; economically, they are predominantly lower middle class; geographically, they are spread all over the country, though in the Greater New York region they are numerically stronger than anywhere else.

### PROPAGANDA

The main channels of propaganda used by the Bund are weekly newspapers, pamphlets, and public meetings. The four official newspapers serve various parts of the country. The New York newspaper first appeared about August 1933 as *Das Neue Deutschland*, a bi-weekly with an

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English supplement. In January 1934 it became the *Deutsche Zeitung*, a weekly also with an English supplement, and ten months later it assumed the alias, the *Deutscher Beobachter*, a weekly. Since July 1, 1935, however, it has been published weekly as the *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*. Three other papers—the *Chicago Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*, *Philadelphia Weckruf und Beobachter*, and the *California Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*—are almost facsimiles of the New York publication. All four papers contain the same news, partly in German and partly in English; each carries advertisements from its own region. The papers, of full news-sheet size, are published in Philadelphia. Only fragmentary figures on circulation are available. In 1934 the circulation of the *Deutsche Zeitung* was 20,000 or 21,000.<sup>57</sup> A subscription campaign to build the circulation proved a failure, and at the time of the convention in April 1938 the total for all the Bund papers was down to 10,000.

"The National Socialist German Labor Party . . . furnished tons of propaganda literature, which in most cases was smuggled into this country." So read the final report of the McCormack Committee.<sup>58</sup> The hearings of the Committee are full of details about vast quantities of miscellaneous printed propaganda arriving on German liners. A typical example is the testimony of a United States Customs official reporting on the seizure of some literature aboard the German vessel *Estes*.<sup>59</sup> "I stopped at the cook's quarters. . . . In his room I found fifty-three packages of printed matter, about three or four hundred pounds of pamphlets, booklets, postcards, and newspaper articles." A similar report read:

He told me . . . he had been invited to go aboard the Hamburg-American boat, the S. S. Vancouver, and he engaged one of the crew in conversation. He innocently asked whether they had any material on board which contained recent word from Germany, since he had not been in touch with developments there for some time. He was taken to a storeroom and there saw large stacks of German newspapers, which he estimates would total 2500 copies. He was given about 200 papers and was told he should visit other ships as they came into port, and no doubt they all carried similar supplies when they arrived from the other side.

Most of the miscellaneous propaganda is in German, though some of it is in English. Its distribution takes place through sales at the meetings of Bund locals. Accounts of these meetings invariably describe long tables piled high with Nazi books, pamphlets, and newspapers. A number of bookstores also sell this material. The following publications are characteristic:

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### NEWSPAPERS

*Der Sturmer*  
*Volkischer Beobachter*  
*Das Schwarze Korps*

### BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

*Positive Christianity*  
*Blood and Race*  
*Wer Wir sind und Was Wir Wollen*  
*The Riddle of the Jew's Success*  
*Who are the Rulers of Russia?*  
*Bolshevism in Theory and Practice*  
*The Destruction of Domestic Life through Bolshevism*  
*Bolshevik Atrocities in Spain*  
*The Truth About the Jews in Germany*  
*Bolshevism Unmasked*  
*Die Juden*—by Feder  
*Die Geheimnisse der Weisen von Zion*—by Beek  
*Jude und Arbeiter*—by Schulz  
*Handbuch der Judenfrage*—by Fritsch  
*Freimauer, Weltrevolution, Weltrepublik*—by Wichtel  
*The International Jew*—by Henry Ford  
*Communism with the Mask Off*—by Joseph Goebbels

Not all material has come from Germany. Pamphlets such as the following have been published by the Bund here in the United States:

*The New Germany Under Hitler*—by Frederick F. Schrader  
*Lifting the Pall*—by R. C. Dasker  
*Litvinoff*—by E. N. Sanctuary  
*The Snake in the Grass*

### PUBLIC MEETINGS

The Bund makes intensive propagandist use of the public meeting. Sessions of the Chicago, New York, and Brooklyn locals, which have attracted the largest audiences, have been frequently held at the Bund camps (of which there are 22). At Camp Yaphank, Long Island, several meetings have drawn as many as 5,000 persons. The smaller locals, however, often have sparsely attended gatherings. Sometimes meetings have been held aboard German liners, with the steamship company acting as host in behalf of the fatherland.

Some locals—including Hammond (Indiana), Chicago, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Portland (Oregon)—have made use of the radio as a medium of propaganda. But a much more important medium has been the youth summer camp. Nineteen locals have had youth groups connected with such camps, the nature of which was condemned from the very first by the McCormack Committee:

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The organization . . . conducted so-called "youth summer camps" at different localities, at which nothing of American history or of American principles of government were taught. . . .

On the contrary, the children were taught to recognize Hitler as their leader, to salute him on all occasions, and to believe that the principles of government taught by him were superior to the principles of our government.

Other evidence has indicated that Bund camps as well as the youth organizations are used to inculcate in children the Nazi philosophy. A letter written by the Chicago youth leader in answer to an inquiry about the youth groups said:

We find that today there is no institution for our young people . . . that, on the contrary, everything is done to deride our race and people, so that the U. S. A. is influenced if not dominated by personalities hostile to everything German . . .

Our boys and girls are banded together in their youth organization in order . . . to serve the aims of the German element organized in the nationwide German-American Bund for better understanding of the two countries . . .

As North American "Commander" of Nazi youth groups, Theodore Dinkelacker knew whereof he spoke when he said at a meeting in Brooklyn:

We must make every conceivable effort to obtain a tight grip on all German-American youngsters. Never mind these American schools; they have to be educated to become useful fighters for our German unity. It is the duty of every person of German blood in this country to support this phase of our work. In this way you will help our youth who are destined to carry forward our Nazi ideals, and who will ultimately bring victory to the glorious German ideals here.<sup>60</sup>

More spectacular than the youth groups, though not yet as important, is the *Ordnungs Dienst*, the Storm Troop auxiliary of the Bund. The uniform of this branch is so similar to that of the German Storm Troopers that it has attracted a considerable amount of attention. All the larger locals have an *Ordnungs Dienst*, a select group of members whose avowed purpose is to police the Bund gatherings. In the background is the thought that the *Ordnungs Dienst* may be useful in some period of internal strife coming in the not too distant future. The Bund viewpoint on this matter is set forth in the chapter on "Propaganda."

### FUNDS

The income of the Bund is derived from the following sources: dues, sale of literature and advertising, collections at meetings, profits of

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social events, donations from wealthy German-Americans, and subsidies from Germany.

Dues are 75 cents a month; the initiation fee, \$3. The sale of books and pamphlets as well as of subscriptions to the *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter* are steady sources of income. The Bund newspapers and the programs of the numerous Bund-sponsored festivals invariably contain scores of advertisements. A highly lucrative source is the collection taken at every public meeting and the pledges members frequently make for specific Bund objectives. Albert Zimmer, head of the Cincinnati local, has helpfully explained the circumstances under which wealthy German-Americans contribute to the Bund treasury:

No one knows this, but we have a permanent list of silent contributors. Most of them are wealthy Germans who feel they cannot afford, for political or business reasons, to support us openly, but who are sympathetic with our movement.

You see, more than sixty percent of Cincinnati is of German extraction. . . . Of course most of these people do not agree with Hitler, but at the same time Hitler represents Germany to them. And they will not tolerate any criticism, verbal or written, of Germany. They consider it a reflection on themselves.

In some cases, the wealthy contributors are Bund members, as in the following instance.

The Brooklyn local boasts of having "the only millionaire member," said to be an elderly Brooklyn woman who thrillingly greets the marching O. D. men (Storm Troopers) as "Oh, my boys!" and finances many of the Bund activities. She is said to have a weakness, when thus overcome by emotion, for contributing \$100 bills for various Bund ventures.<sup>61</sup>

Contributions by American citizens not of German extraction is rare. The only instance on record involved two Californians who made a contribution to the Pacific Coast branch of the organization.

The chief form of known subsidy that the Bund gets from the Nazi government is steamship and railroad advertising in the Bund paper. The report of the McCormack Committee revealed:

Documentary evidence before the committee obtained from the companies (Hapag-Lloyd and the German Railways) shows that this subsidy was ordered from Germany and amounted, in the case of the steamship lines, to \$600 per month and in the case of the railroads to \$200 per month without regard to the amount of space used.

The phrase "without regard to the amount of space used" meant that the paper might give the companies a smaller-than-usual advertisement in a particular edition without ever affecting any financial adjustment

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or space compensation. The \$200 and \$600 monthly rates were established when the Bund paper had just started and had a circulation of only four hundred.

The only other evidence of money from the German government concerns gifts from West Coast Consuls to the Los Angeles and the San Francisco locals of the Bund. While conducting one of three Bund radio programs on the coast, Henry Lage, San Francisco leader, declared that the local Consul was so interested in these programs that the Bund looked to him for financial help to keep them going. When queried on this matter, Fritz Kuhn replied: "Yes, yes, I know all about the financial angles in regard to the Bund and the Consulates." A witness before the Dies Committee asserted that Dr. Gyssling, the German Consul at Los Angeles, once gave \$145 to Herman Schwinn, the Pacific Coast *gau leiter* (District Leader) in order "to tide over a deficit at the German House."<sup>62</sup>

None of this evidence, however, indicates that any large proportion of the Bund's total expenses is defrayed by money sent from Germany. The fees for the steamship and railroad advertisements are small in proportion to the Bund's total income. The few contributions by Consuls do not prove that there is any systematic, widespread plan of financing the Bund from Germany. Moreover, it is entirely possible that some Consuls have been imposed on for a personal contribution or have volunteered personal contributions because they felt that doing so would look well on the record. Though it is possible that Germany sends the Bund large sums of money, several considerations make it seem improbable. First, the Bund has ample sources of income in the United States. Secondly, Germany is in no position to be exporting capital; it carefully conserves capital in order to pay for the vital raw materials it imports. Finally, money has on occasion gone the other way. Bund funds have been given to the Nazi Government. When Kuhn and other Bund leaders went to the Olympic games in Berlin in 1936, they gave Hitler \$3,000 for German winter relief. This money came from the Bund treasury.<sup>63</sup> To reiterate: the amount of money the Bund receives from Germany makes up only a very small proportion of its total income.<sup>64</sup>



## CHAPTER IV

### The Silver Shirts

THE Silver Shirts and the other organizations yet to be discussed differ somewhat from the German-American Bund. For better or for worse, they have some distinctly American characteristics. As has been noted, the Bund is made up almost entirely of German-born persons (about half of whom are German citizens) and it is both controlled and subsidized from Germany. Despite all protestations to the contrary, Bund members are Germans first and last. The organizations about to be examined, however, seem part of the American scene. Their membership is predominantly old American stock and rarely includes recent immigrants. Nevertheless, these groups have much in common with the Bund.

The Silver Shirts, the most publicized and probably the most important of these groups, came into existence in February 1933 and reached its high point of 15,000 members in the summer of 1934. While it has members throughout the country at the present time, the majority are concentrated on the Pacific Coast.

Congressional investigation started the organization on the downgrade in 1934. Most of its posts broke up and many members went into such dissident splinter groups as the Constitution Legion of America, the American White Guards, and the Anti-Communist League of the World. In January 1935 another blow fell when William Dudley Pelley, the head of the Silver Shirts, and two associates were indicted for selling worthless stock of their Galahad Press. Pelley was convicted by a North Carolina court, sentenced to five years in the penitentiary, and fined \$3500, but the sentence was suspended on grounds of "good behavior". The first half of 1935 saw the organization at its lowest ebb; it was practically inactive. In August of that year Pelley reorganized the Silver Shirts under an alias—the Christian Party. The latter disseminated the same ideas and consisted, to a large extent, of the same membership. The new organization was based upon cells called Councils of Safety—usually made up of nine men. Each cell member was required to organize a Council of his own, a process to be continued indefinitely. By December, the organization was beginning to grow again and by 1936 Pelley was brash enough to run for President on the

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Christian Party ticket. His campaign efforts were greatest in Washington, the one state that permitted his party to be entered on the ballot. Although he stumped tirelessly for six months, he received only 1,598 votes out of a total of 700,000 cast in the state. For a few months after the election, the organization was without funds and completely inactive. It has since resumed its publishing ventures.

### LEADERSHIP

The Silver Shirts, like all other groups in this study, has a leader whose personality dominates the organization: William Dudley Pelley or "Chief Pelley" to his cohorts. Born in Lynn, Massachusetts, in 1885, Pelley has let it be known that his paternal forebears are "of purest English stock".<sup>1</sup> In an autobiographical sketch, he has declared:

I was born the only son of an itinerant Methodist preacher. Soon after my birth my parents began that old-fashioned Odyssey of traveling from "call" to "call" in the northern Massachusetts back hills.

Orthodox Protestant theology, as it was forty years ago, was far more plentiful in my father's household than bread, butter, clothes, and fuel. Camp meetings and quarterly conferences, the higher criticism, predestination, free will and election, infant damnation, hell fire and the day of judgment constituted the household converse in my young and "tender" years. God early shaped up to me as a weird combination of heavenly Moloch and sublimated Overseer of the Poor.

Parish poverty forced my father from the ministry, but with grim New England determination he saw to it that his relinquishment of the pulpit did not lessen my surfeit of conventional theology. Three times to church on the Sabbath day and twice during the week—left me small opportunity to forget my Maker and the gratitude I owed Him. Just what this gratitude was owed Him for troubled my small soul exceedingly in those far-off years, because I found myself created a perpetually hungry, shabbily dressed, and none-too-happy youngster who had to start his life labor at fourteen years of age and stay with it thereafter, even to the present.<sup>2</sup>

His life's labor was apparently begun in his father's toilet paper manufacturing establishment—the Pelley Tissue Corporation—at Springfield, Massachusetts. He rose to treasurer of the company in 1909, holding this position until 1912.<sup>3</sup> He described his life during these years as follows:

In the years between fourteen and twenty-two I was a smoldering young Bolshevik against every kind of authority—particularly religious authority which had apparently sanctioned these injustices against me—and by picking up the rudiments of a denied education through promiscuous reading, I went far afield from accredited Christianity. . . .

At twenty-two in a little town in Northern New York, I was

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publishing a brochure magazine of heretical leanings (the *Philosopher Magazine*). I had discovered myself possessed of a certain facility with iconoclastic language. Fresh from a wry, lonely, misunderstood childhood . . . revengeful that I had been denied social and academic advantages for which my hunger was instinctive, I proceeded . . . to make things hot for several godly people . . . later I came to see that I took out on God what I should have taken out on an inhibited environment. . . .

I shopped around in my religion. I read still queerer books. For ten years I was one of the worst agnostics that ever had books come to his postoffice box in plain wrappers from freak publishing houses.

I had brains enough to see that my life had been started all wrong and was "getting no better fast", but had not the academic or social equipment to alter existence and start myself about-face.

Those were cruel, cruel years . . . looking back on them now. A couple of my business projects went to whack. So did my marriage. With each additional snarl I got more and more vindictive . . . I wrote a couple of novels . . . I knew my life was a ghastly mess, that I was cynical and caustic . . . that we got nothing in this world unless we fought for it with the ferocity of a Siberian wolf-dog.

The "business projects" mentioned in the above statement were the publishing of small town New England newspapers, among them the *Chicopee* (Massachusetts) *Journal* in 1913 and the *Wilmington* (Vermont) *Times* in 1917-1920. For a time he was on the staff of the *Bennington* (Vermont) *Banner*. In 1917, he was one of five men chosen by the Methodist Centenary and the Rockefeller Foundation to journey out to the Far East and make a survey of Protestant Foreign Missions. America's entry into the first World War found him in Japan. During the Siberian Intervention he accompanied the Japanese forces in the capacity of Y. M. C. A. official, Consular courier, and newspaper correspondent.

After the war he returned to the United States and devoted himself to writing. He wrote a novel or two and a great number of short stories for such periodicals as *Colliers*, *Good Housekeeping*, *Redbook*, and *American Magazine*. He wrote movie scenarios, too, and eventually made his home near Hollywood. Though his literary skill did not take him to the top rank of the profession, he was good enough to make the 1924-25 *Who's Who in America* and subsequent editions. This modest degree of success, however, brought Pelley no satisfaction. He recalled these post-war years bitterly:

I . . . came back to the United States to find a newspaper business in ruins. . . .

To save my newspaper creditors from loss, I went to Hollywood to labor among the Flesh Pots. I made a score of motion pictures, most of them flops because I had the uncanny facility for roiling the very persons whom I should have made my friends. I wrote a couple of

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books which my publishers refused. I fought with them in consequence, still taking life by strong-arm methods. I wrote many stories that editors rejected. I fought them too.

When an editor wouldn't buy a certain story, I sat down at my typewriter and contrived to tell him I thought him an ass. . . . You see, I had the unfortunate complex that the attainment of success meant a knock-down-and-drag-out scrap. It made me a lone wolf at life, getting me the least bit mangy as I reached my forties.

Time after time I tried to correct my psychology and get back certain religious (not theological) cues I felt I had lost with the passing of boyhood. I plunged deeper than ever into eleven pound volumes on all sorts of race traits and behaviorism. I was a walking exposition of how a man may reach middle life and be the worst internal mess that ever got into *Who's Who*.

Ever since childhood I had lived under such a tremendous nervous tension that it had kept me underweight, put lines on my face and an edge on my voice, shattered me psychologically so that opposition of any kind infuriated me and made me want to crash through it like an army tank flattening out a breastworks.

Suddenly all this had departed.

I was peaceful inside.

The great change referred to was described in considerable detail for the benefit of the readers of the *American Magazine* in a sensational article entitled "My Seven Minutes in Eternity". According to the article, he died for seven minutes sometime in 1928. It seems that he left this world of strife, talked with several deceased friends and, after exactly seven minutes, returned to earth a "new Pelley" with calm nerves, an agreeable personality—and a determination to give up smoking. The transformation was easily explained:

What is this thing that happened to me, and why did it happen?

First, I believe my subconscious hungered after what the Bible terms, "the things of the spirit" . . . that is the sincere desire to penetrate behind the mediocrity of three-meals-a-day living and ascertain what mystery lies behind this Golgotha of Existence. . . .

Third, these experiences immediately revealed to me that there is a world of subliminal or spiritual existence, interpenetrating the ordinary world in which most of us exist as ordinary two-legged Americans full of aches and worries, and that this subliminal world is the real world . . . that it is waiting for the race to learn of it and "tap" its beneficent resources, without waiting for what we call physical death; that our dead dear ones are existent in it—alive, happy, conscious, and waiting for us to join them either at death or at any time we reach that stage of spirituality when we can make contact with them.

Despite the absence of more detailed psychological data, three things may be said about Pelley's personality in his early years. First, he was a frustrated intellectual. Second, his reaction to privation was

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usually expressed by raging against whoever he thought was responsible. Third, he had an acute, unresolved religious problem. His frustrations dated back to the time when his family's poverty kept him from continuing his schooling after his fourteenth year. With the failures of some of his small-town New England publishing ventures, his frustrations continued. In 1921 separation from his wife caused additional injury. In the 1920's, though he made a reasonable amount of money through his short stories, novels, and scenarios, he was unable to rise above his competitors. He made a living but was not an outstanding success as a literary figure. He did not win considerable fame or fortune. He was still just a literary hack whose writings publishers frequently rejected. His mediocrity obsessed him as he entered his forties, conscious that his raging brought him no relief. He continued to live under a "tremendous nervous tension". Finally, he found a way out. He became a spiritualist. He abandoned the world of hard-boiled editors and keen competition, and entered the spiritualist's world of unreality. Here in the "world of subliminal or spiritual existence", where one could talk with "dead dear ones", Pelley found relief from his frustration and mediocrity. The fact that he was a second-rate literary hack no longer mattered because "*this subliminal world is the real world*". The world of strife and frustration was only a delusion.

Exactly why Pelley chose this method of escape is difficult to say. Perhaps he came in contact with some of Southern California's many esoteric religious sects. Certainly, his unsolved religious problem pre-disposed him toward this escape. Never in adult life had he found anything to take the place of the Methodist Fundamentalism that had played such a dominant role in his adolescence. He outgrew his boyhood religion but found no substitute for it.

Though Pelley took up spiritualism as an escape from reality, he soon discovered that by talking and writing about it to others he could improve his mundane pecuniary resources. Hence, in 1930 he established in Asheville, North Carolina,<sup>4</sup> four interlocking spiritualistic enterprises—Galahad Press, Galahad College, the Foundation for Christian Economics, and the League for Liberation. The Pelley enterprises published great quantities of tracts on spiritualism and a monthly magazine called *Liberation*. Typical tracts included: *What is the Holy Spirit and How Does It Create?*, *That Great Migration of Souls to This Planet*, *How Divine Thought Operates on Matter*, *Which Souls Make Up the Dark Forces*, *Do Those Who Are Dead Meet God?*, *Identifying Your Soul in Eternity*, and *How to Understand the Workings of Karma*.

According to the title page, the magazine *Liberation* offered "in-

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struction and inspiration from sources above and behind mortality" and the "contents of this magazine, unless otherwise designated, were received 'clairaudiently' via the Psychic Radio, from Great Souls, who have graduated out of this three-dimensional world into other areas of Time and Space".

Galahad College gave most of its instruction through mail order courses, but it had some resident students whom it offered classes in ethical history, public stewardship, spiritual eugenics, social metaphysics, (*sic!*), Christian philosophy, educational therapy, music, public expression, cosmic mathematics. The results were financially quite satisfactory. In a four-month period of 1932, for example, more than 500 persons paid \$60 apiece for the mail order course in "metapsychics".<sup>5</sup> According to a Congressional report, nine out of ten of Pelley's followers were women who gave him, and from whom he borrowed, varying sums of money, in one case receiving bonds valued at \$14,000.<sup>6</sup> The \$14,000 came from a Mrs. Marie Ogden in return for an interest in the Galahad Press.<sup>7</sup> The Pelley enterprises were not all uniformly successful. *Liberation* did not appear regularly because of recurrent financial difficulties. Moreover, there were other similar difficulties, to judge by the testimony of Pelley's business manager, George S. Anderson:

During November and December [1932] the receipts decreased considerably, and I had difficulty in financing the payroll and other obligations. . . . In the latter part of November I urged Mr. Pelley to undertake some fiction writing again, believing that he could pull the institution up by its own bootstraps, if he could get out and do some fiction writing again. He went to New York and secured a new literary agent, and during the latter part of November and the early part of December, 1932, wrote—some seventeen short stories.<sup>8</sup>

Even after his swing to anti-semitism, Pelley remained just as much a spiritualist as ever. In an issue of *Liberation* in early 1933 he informed his readers that "Chief Pelley has by long practice and training, schooled himself to form his Clairaudient Contacts wherever he happens to be". More recently, he addressed a group in California entirely on his conversations with God and Jesus.

Until 1933, Pelley's activities and writings were devoid of political consciousness. No reference was made to either the revolutionary menace or the Jewish menace. His publications confined themselves primarily to the world of the spirit and ignored the realm of the carnal and the political. The transition from spiritualism to politics occurred in January 1933. Business Manager George S. Anderson described the change in this manner:

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When he [Pelley] returned to Asheville the day before Christmas [1932], he began to talk to me about organization of a militant character. . . .

During January he began to talk about what might happen on January 30, which he called a "pyramid date."<sup>9</sup> He seemed quite certain that some great event was going to take place on January 30, 1933, and when the papers announced the rise of Hitler to power in Germany, Mr. Pelley announced that that was the "pyramid event" unquestionably; and from that point on he seemed to lose all interest in everything that had gone before in the way of his publications, and appeared to become possessed with the idea that something was going to happen in America similar to what was happening in Germany, and at one time he wanted me to have printed and sent out to all newspapers a page-size sheet headed "Is he the American Hitler?" And his rough draft for this proposed broadside . . . contained his picture [accompanied by sketches showing men uniformed in khaki shirts and riding breeches] and the history of the Liberation movement.

The first issue of the weekly magazine [*Liberation* was changed from a monthly at this point] was devoted primarily to the Silver Shirt propaganda rather than for the benefit of the students and old readers for whom I had designed *Liberation*.<sup>10</sup>

In the first weekly issue of *Liberation*, Pelley outlined the new aspects of his movement:

I knew as far back as the early days of 1929 that the ultimate aim of the Liberation Gesture was not religious. Spiritual, perhaps. But not religious.

I have known privately—that despite all that has transpired in the last thirty months, the true Liberation movement has not even been born. . . .

Now I proceed to a program of Action. . . .

I shall use this journal—to talk to you about great issues of Cosmic and Civic Elucidations, and to make their application to practical problems something more than a thesis.

The real work of Liberation must now be commenced.

The language in the revitalized publication was at first murky, but soon it became clearly anti-semitic. Three months after the Silver Shirt organization was started, Pelley was counseling his followers in *Liberation* not to despair at the magnitude of their task.

The Hitler Movement in Germany started from a sign painter making a speech from the top of a barrel.

It is not too early to begin casting up our slates.

Pelley is unique for the frank, naïve manner in which he has expressed his dictatorial ambitions. In the May 28, 1938, issue of *Liberation* he wrote:

A clairvoyant child in Tennessee, who knows nothing of the Silver Shirts, has been insistent to her parents since 1934, that "Mr. Pelley

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follows Roosevelt!" and has given extraordinary apt details concerning a Red dictator who lasts a matter of days, in between the two men. . . . A psychic woman in western Pennsylvania drops into a trance, unaware that Silver Shirts are in the group, and informs her audience: "This whole period comes to an end through the leadership of a man wearing a Van Dyke beard, who appears from the mountains of North Carolina."

The psychological implications are obvious. Spiritualism did not provide adequate expression for Pelley's desires. Anti-semitism, on the other hand, salved his feelings of inadequacy by offering delusions of grandeur. He would lead a nationwide movement of Silver-Shirted men to drive the Jews and revolutionaries from power! He would be the savior of his country! Here was a channel not only for externalizing his aggressions but also for releasing the bitterness generated by years of frustration.

As second in command, Robert C. Summerville, ran the Silver Shirts from the Asheville headquarters while Pelley was away on his frequent trips. Summerville was more the head of a resident secretariat than an active field organizer. He first became associated with Pelley in 1931, when he was 24 years old. An excellent picture of him was offered in an affidavit submitted by Miss Baird, a former employee of the Pelley enterprises:

His father died when he was thirteen, and he was reared on a farm in Indiana, went to work at fourteen selling papers in Chicago. He has been a reporter on the *Chicago Herald*, real estate salesman, editor of the Montgomery-Ward catalogue, professional dancer, and is now with the Silver Shirt movement as a writer of propaganda. He says he is not like the general run of people since he sees humanity as a whole and not as individuals. He thinks his psychical powers are marked and receives inspiration for his writings from spirits of those who have passed into the beyond. He receives most of his spirit messages in dreams, says that he had found himself in the Silver Shirt movement, that it is his whole life, and that he is willing to give his life for it. . . . He has been on the stage, batted around backstage in New York. He writes most of the articles published in the Silver Shirt magazines, pamphlets, and newspapers, or at least he says he does. He is known to the Silver Shirts as "Captain Bob".

Miss Baird graphically described her reaction to a "date" with Summerville:

I went with him, but I thought he was crazy. For everything he said was just a lot of high-sounding words meaning nothing. I figured that anyone who could keep up a conversation for two hours and not say one coherent sentence must have a "screw loose" somewhere. . . .

He said that Pelley had often been protected by the spirits against the Jews. . . .



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Another Silver Shirt bigwig, "Major" L. I. Powell, was formerly an organizer for the Ku Klux Klan and one of its principal executives and money-makers. A letter from a Shreveport, Louisiana, police official had the following to say about him:

Powell's reputation in Shreveport is far from good. He has lived by his wits for many years—in fact, I have never known him to do any work. He pays no bills, and he is a man utterly without standing in the community. He presents a good superficial appearance and is a good speaker, and in that way he got control of the organization known as the Khaki Shirts of America. I am reliably informed that his misuse of the funds of the organization was the primary cause of its disbandment.

Powell attempted to organize the Silver Shirts in Shreveport but failed signally in this move. . . I am . . . certain that no organization sponsored by Powell could make any headway here because Powell has neither the respect nor the confidence of anyone who knows him.

An important Silver Shirt organizer in Seattle, Dr. Howard Merrill, has been described in these unflattering terms:

He is a big, strapping fellow, of an extremely nervous type. . . . He has a persecution complex, feeling that the Olympia Hotel, which has locked him out of his room for non-payment of rent, was run by a bunch of crooks, etc. He had occupied an adjoining room with a woman. Her husband had divorced her and thereafter commenced an action in the King County courts to obtain the custody of their two girls, whom she was bringing up as prostitutes. The woman herself had been operating several houses of ill fame in the city of Bremerton and was a rather notorious character. She was known at the Olympia Hotel as Dr. Merrill's secretary.

Very little is known of Roy Zachery, the Silver Shirts' National Field Marshal, except that he is a former lumberjack who has believed in Pelley implicitly. When interviewed by the Rev. L. M. Birkhead, National Director of the Friends of Democracy, he baldly declared:

Of course, Pelley has sources of information not open to others. He has a clairaudient ear. He hears voices that no one else hears.

Pelley does nothing without divine orders. It only takes him a few minutes to get in touch with God. Pelley has been chosen by God for this special work. . . .

Pelley has been providentially prepared for all this work. . . . If you study Pelley's career you will find that every step of his way God has been preparing Pelley for this great work. Well, it's wonderful the way Pelley can get in touch with God. It only takes him a few minutes to get into direct touch with divine powers.

Silver Shirt leaders appear to be rather unstable persons. Zachery, the least unstable, is the case of a simple-minded lumberjack stricken

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with admiration for the first spiritualist with whom he has ever come into contact.

### PROPAGANDA

The Silver Shirts' two chief channels of propaganda have been *Liberation*, a weekly magazine, and the *Silver Legion Ranger*, a weekly newspaper. Although *Liberation* dates as far back as 1930, it did not become the organ of the Silver Shirts until the issue of February 18, 1933. Adequate figures on its circulation are not available. A former Pelley employee stated in an affidavit that in December 1933 some 50,000 copies were printed and, evidently, distributed. In 1934 the publication of *Liberation* was suspended from the middle of April until the end of August; this was part of the general collapse of the organization following Pelley's conviction for violation of North Carolina laws. At the end of August it reappeared as *Pelley's Weekly*. The gap in publication lost the organization many readers. "Before me," wrote Pelley in this connection, "lies a national list of 1,708 people who were formerly enthusiastic readers of *Liberation* but who have not yet permitted me to hear from them in the matter of our present publication". The circulation of 50,000, attained in 1933, marked the high point, and, by and large, one-third of that figure has been the usual maximum.<sup>11</sup>

The *Silver Ranger* began publication as a weekly newspaper in Oklahoma City in November 1933. Shortly thereafter it was transferred to Los Angeles, where it was printed from January 1934 until August of that year. Its usual press run in Los Angeles was 10,000 copies per issue. The largest issue was 13,000 and a few issues were as small as 5,000 and 6,000. The list of individual subscribers was only about 1,300. Most copies were sent out in bundles to posts and to members who bought them for free distribution.

Pamphlets and folders have been a much less important means of propaganda. Pelley has put out some half dozen leaflets, two of them in quantities of 9,000 or 10,000. In addition a special set of handbills was used in connection with the Christian Party campaign in 1936. The Silver Shirts distributed a large number of copies of such pamphlets and books as Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, John E. Waters' *Red Justice*, Pelley's *No More Hunger*, Irvin L. Potter's *The Cause of Anti-Jewism*, F. Roderich-Stolthelm's *The Riddle of the Jew's Success*, G. F. Stevenson's *The Cuttle-Fish* ("a history of Manipulations of gold by Jewry in the advancement of their world conspiracy"), Carveth Wells' *Kapoot* ("Laugh and shudder with this author and lecturer"), and *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

In the early part of 1934, Pelley attempted to use the confidential news-letter, the propaganda medium employed by the James True

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Associates so successfully.<sup>12</sup> A special appeal was made to businessmen. The sales argument was stated succinctly in the letterhead of Pelley's letter of solicitation: "You should know what the Silver Shirts know to help in the conduct of your business". The letter continued:

Once each week, out of the exhaustive information I possess and which has largely contributed to putting my organization of the Silver Shirts in the nation's headlines, I am going to write a four-page closely-typed letter to them, which will treat with many of the important men, and the government and commercial situations now baffling the rank and file of our people, giving the dossiers as I happen to know them on many individuals in the news, telling who they are, where their hookups and real ramifications lie, and what information the Silver Shirts possess about them in the former's private archives.

I am compiling a very special list for this letter, and I want to place it in the hands of those bankers, industrialists, and other commercial interests who will properly value what I have to offer them.

The cost of this personal service will be \$25 per year, payable in advance, in order that bookkeeping and overhead costs in its production can be kept at a minimum.

Here was confidential "inside stuff" that could be learned through Pelley alone—and all for a mere \$25 a year! The letter lasted only six issues.

Public platform propaganda has, of course, been used by the Silver Shirts. Pelley, an indefatigable speaker, was especially active during his campaign for the Presidency. He was assisted on the platform by W. W. Kemp, his running mate and leader of the West Coast Silver Shirts. In the early months of 1938, Zachery, the National Field Marshal, made a transcontinental speaking tour.

Although the chief function of the Silver Shirts has always been the dissemination of propaganda, the San Diego unit of the organization was for a time ready for violent action. The unit purchased arms and ammunition from members of the United States armed forces. W. W. Kemp, its leader, offered a Marine \$10 for each rifle he could steal, \$50 for each machine gun, and \$20 for each case of ammunition. According to sworn testimony, at least 2,000 rounds of ammunition were assembled. Silver Shirts themselves have boasted of possessing 12,000 rounds. A Marine, who later turned out to be a spy for the Naval Intelligence Office, instructed Silver Shirt members on tactics in riots and street fighting and in the methods of approach to cities. The purpose of the training was preparedness in the event that Communists attempted to stage a revolution in San Diego on May Day, 1934; the Silver Shirts planned to counter-attack and seize the City Hall.

### MEMBERSHIP

"Either men or women over the age of eighteen years may be members but only persons of the Christian faith are acceptable or will be rec-

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ognized". These are the membership qualifications as stated in Silver Shirt literature. The membership in July 1933 was 700 or 800, scattered through 40 states; consequently, many states had just a state organizer and one or two associates. In early 1934 the membership reached its peak in numbers—15,000. During this period, the Los Angeles post, probably the largest in the country, attracted as many as 500 or 600 persons to its meetings. In January, 1938, however, Pelley could place the national Silver Shirt membership at only 5,000.

The Silver Shirt organization has always been strongest on the Pacific Coast, particularly in California. Another stronghold has been the Oklahoma City region. Only a few Silver Shirt posts have appeared east of the Appalachians. But from these mountains westward to the Pacific Coast their numbers increase. This analysis of membership distribution checks with the results of the Dies Committee's inquiry into the destinations of Pelley's literature. The Committee found that in 1937 Pelley made 12 express shipments to points South of the Mason and Dixon line and 57 to points North of it but 1,022 to the West Coast; and that in the first seven months of 1938 he made 14 such shipments to the East Coast but 1,154 to the West Coast.<sup>13</sup> A list of cities in which Silver Shirt posts have existed follows:

| ATLANTIC COAST                         |                       | FROM THE APPALACHIANS TO THE MISSISSIPPI |  |
|--|-----------------------|--|--|
| Lewiston (Me.)                         | Chicago (Ill.)        | Norwood (O.)                             |  |
| Philadelphia (Pa.)                     | Cleveland (O.)        | Pittsburgh (Pa.)                         |  |
| Miami (Fla.)                           | Indianapolis (Ind.)   | Rockford (Ill.)                          |  |
| New York (N. Y.)                       | Lansing (Mich.)       | St. Paul (Minn.)                         |  |
| Springfield (Mass.)                    | Minneapolis (Minn.)   | Toledo (O.)                              |  |
| WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI TO THE ROCKIES |                       |  |  |
| Dallas (Tex.)                          | Lincoln (Neb.)        | St. Louis (Mo.)                          |  |
| Denver (Colo.)                         | Oklahoma City (Okla.) | Tulsa (Okla.)                            |  |
| Ft. Smith (Ark.)                       | Omaha (Neb.)          |  |  |
| Kansas City (Mo.)                      | Pueblo (Colo.)        |  |  |
| PACIFIC NORTHWEST                      |                       | CALIFORNIA                               |  |
| Bremerton (Wash.)                      | Alexandria            | Long Beach                               |  |
| Everett (Wash.)                        | Altadena              | Los Angeles                              |  |
| Mt. Vernon (Wash.)                     | Bakersfield           | Oakland                                  |  |
| Portland (Oreg.)                       | Baldwin Park          | San Bernardino                           |  |
| Redmont (Wash.)                        | Fontana               | San Diego                                |  |
| Seattle (Wash.)                        | Hollywood             | Santa Barbara                            |  |
| Spokane (Wash.)                        | Huntington Park       | Santa Paula                              |  |
| Tacoma (Wash.)                         | Imperial Valley       | Ventura                                  |  |
| Verona (Ore.)                          | Inglewood             |  |  |
| Walla Walla (Wash.)                    |                       |  |  |

What is the social and economic composition of the Silver Shirt membership? Admission to the organization is not restricted to men.

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"Major" L. I. Powell once told the press that 28 per cent of the members were women. A report of a Cleveland meeting mentioned the presence of 25 women. In Indianapolis about 165 women once attended the gathering of a special women's auxiliary of the Silver Shirts.

The members are predominantly Protestant. No formal ban on Catholics exists, and the organization carries on no open anti-Catholic propaganda. In the early days of the Silver Shirts, apparently some question on whether or not to bar Catholics occurred among the leaders. One leader in a letter to headquarters seriously suggested that this difficulty be solved by admitting Catholics only after they had sworn an oath renouncing their allegiance to the Pope.<sup>14</sup> Pelley himself apparently toyed with the idea of excluding Catholics because in an early issue of *Liberation* he spoke of the need of building up "a Native-Son, Protestant-Christian political machine". Local leaders expressed similar sentiments. When making public addresses a Chicago leader frequently used the expression "Protestant and Aryan". Moreover, the ranks and officers of the Silver Shirts include a large number of former Klansmen. "Major" Powell was formerly a Klan official. The Silver Shirt organizer in Baldwin Park, California, was at one time the Exalted Cyclops of the local Klan. The Philadelphia post of the Silver Shirts contained two ex-Klansmen; one of them had been an official of the Eastern Pennsylvania district of the Klan. The woman who conducted the meeting of the women's auxiliary in Indianapolis was formerly associated with the Klan. The *Punxsutawney Spirit*, an Oklahoma newspaper, asserted that in its locality "many former members of the Klan are now Silver Shirts."<sup>15</sup> Concerning parts of his state where the Silver Shirts were particularly active, a resident of Washington wrote: "I am quite familiar with the situation around Bellingham and Mount Vernon. This section contains a large number of people who are old Klansmen. The Klan never did disband in Skagit and Whitcomb counties." Some evidence, however, indicates that the door to Silver Shirt membership is not shut to Catholics. A former Klansman resigned from the St. Paul unit of the Silver Shirts because he did not consider it sufficiently anti-Catholic. More recently, Pelley vigorously denied charges of anti-Catholic prejudices: "The villification that I have sought to revive the anti-Catholic Klan is exposed by the presence of thousands of fine Catholic boys in our ranks."<sup>16</sup> In another instance, Pelley attempted to woo Catholics by telling them how the Communists planned to destroy the Catholic Church.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, common sense suggests that an organization containing so many former Klansmen will attract very few Catholics. The "thousands of fine

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Catholic boys in our ranks" to which Pelley referred probably existed only in his imagination.

An occupational cross section of the Silver Shirt membership reveals significant data. Among the prominent members in various parts of the country have been Protestant clergymen. The Rev. E. F. Webber was an organizer in Oklahoma. In Minneapolis and New York clergyman members have addressed meetings. In Seattle a self-styled "former Methodist minister" proselyted for Pelley. A clergyman was very active in the organizational work of the Toledo Silver Shirts and a gentleman bearing the title "Reverend" was likewise engaged in Maine. Lawyers, too, have been well represented. A Kansas City member and a business manager for the Pacific Coast Silver Shirts were attorneys. A Los Angeles cell met in a lawyer's office. In Toledo a school physician was a member and in Cleveland a physician held a cell meeting in his office. Among those who have been typical members of the organization are an electrician, salesmen, an accountant, the owner of a large distillery, a restaurant proprietor, a teacher of drama, an ex-legislator, an ex-sheriff, an unemployed metallurgist, an unemployed architect, an unemployed mechanical engineer, a motion picture operator, and some United States Navy men and Marines. The predominance of highly trained professional people and the apparently complete absence of manual workers, as indicated by the preceding occupational listings, establishes the Silver Shirt membership as middle-class. The validity of this characterization is buttressed by the number of references to members who are also thirty-second degree Masons or Scottish Rite Shriners.

That descendants of old American families chiefly constitute the Silver Shirts has been frequently asserted. In listing the names of twenty "cronies" of the late Governor Olson of Minnesota—most of the names suggested Jewish or Slavic origin—*Pelley's Weekly* truculently defied its readers to "pick out the fine old American names". Evidence to substantiate the implication that many of the Silver Shirts are possessors of "fine old American names" is found in the list of Christian Party nominees, culled from the Washington state ballot of 1936. The names of the nominees were: Dr. Dwight D. Clark, Floyd Hatfield, Rubie Sharpe Johnson, Ole J. Lien, Malcom M. Moore, Walter L. Morgan, T. L. W. Osburne, E. E. Peterson, Harry G. Picot, Orville W. Roundtree, Jack Shields, Frank H. Tousley, Fred G. Widner, and John A. Wilson. Silver Shirt correspondence has mentioned names such as Stephen Balog, P. Bruce Brockway, I. R. Crow, Earl W. Loudon, S. M. Pinkerton, and Clarence M. Wright.

Though boasting that the numerically predominant group of Silver

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Shirts are descendants of early American stock, *Pelley's Weekly* has admitted that "everywhere the German-American people . . . are coming to the front rank of the Christian Party as its most enthusiastic workers."<sup>18</sup> At a Silver Shirt meeting in New York City three-fourths of the audience were Germans. The Silver Shirts have made vigorous and evidently, fruitful efforts to recruit German-Americans. A recruiting officer assigned to German-American societies, reported to Pelley: "We are expecting Mr. Kessemeier back early in October; joining hands with him it will be easier for me to feel my way through these scattered German-American organizations."<sup>19</sup> An Indiana German-American has stated that a Silver Shirt member tried to get him to organize a German post: "Mr. M—— suggested that I organize a German post and that I invite nine faithful Germans to my house Sunday." On the Pacific Coast the Silver Shirts were instructed to attend the meetings of the German-American Bund and to endeavor to recruit members there. Apparently they were successful, for the extent of cooperation between the Bund and the Silver Shirts suggests overlapping membership.

Another source of information on the character of the Silver Shirt members is the statement of an Asheville lawyer who sampled Pelley's filed correspondence of several hundred thousand letters while they were under subpoena in 1934. He reported that he arrived at the following opinions with respect to the writers of these letters:

They were uneducated (judging from the grammatical errors); poor (many had suffered recent economic reverses); few professional people; a high proportion of neurotics (to judge from the language they employed); practically all elderly; a high proportion were female; they were seldom prominent in their community, or if prominent, they wrote either because of their metaphysical interests or because they were interested in opposing the liberal trends of the administration. They came from small communities in general, mostly from the Middle West and the West Coast. Very little interest was manifested in the South.

The sampling appears to be open to one objection: much of the correspondence from persons interested in Pelley's spiritualism was received prior to the existence of the Silver Shirts. But undoubtedly many of these people entered the Silver Shirt movement, for *Liberation* has dealt with spiritualism.

The attorney's opinion that few professional people belong to the Silver Shirts does not deny the implications of the occupational analysis previously presented—that many of the active members were professionals. Evidence, however, supports his belief that few members—professionals or non-professionals—have been prominent persons in their community. An observer, describing a Silver Shirt meeting in a

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small Washington town in early 1938, stated: "I have taken the auto license numbers of many who attend, but I have not found one prominent person among them in the community."

The naïve mysticism of many Silver Shirt members is indicated by a story that appeared in the September 15, 1936 issue of the *Minneapolis Journal*. This story related that one member had stored up food for a two weeks' seige because the Great Pyramid of Gizeh predicted a Jewish revolt on the day of the new Jewish year. Another member explained that the N. R. A. blue eagle was the "mark of the beast" mentioned in the book of *Revelation*; calling attention to the fact that the latter states that the beast is to be known only by a number (*viz.*, six hundred, three score, and six—666), the member said:

Now look at the N.R.A. emblem. Count the teeth in the cog-wheel. It's fifteen. Five and one. Get it? Five and one is six. Count the tail feathers on the bird. Six. That's six and six. Now how many bolts of lightning are there? (In the Eagle's claw.) Six! And that makes 666—the mark of the beast.

The Silver Shirts, like several other groups to be examined, have attracted a number of White Guard Russians. A gentleman who went around under the title of "Prince" attended a "Council of Safety" meeting in Cleveland and there entertained his audience with the story of how the Bolsheviks confiscated his vast estates. Mr. Paul von Lilienfeld-Toal, another White Guard Russian, was for a period a Silver Shirt official.

### FUNDS

The Silver Shirts have the following sources of funds: dues, collections at meetings, the sale of literature, and small donations. Dues were initially ten dollars but later dropped to one dollar. Collections, frequently taken at meetings, were apparently a lucrative source, for one observer reported noticing "many bills in the basket." Although *Liberation* and the *Silver Ranger* sold subscriptions, neither was self-supporting; both were kept going by small donations sent in by mail. That these donations were *small* was emphasized by the lawyer who examined Pelley's correspondence: "The great majority of his contributions came in small dribbles, usually one or two dollars, and a surprisingly large proportion of the letters were accompanied by a small donation." Only recently did the Silver Shirts obtain wealthy backers.

Silver Shirt officials have from time to time solicited the American-German Bund and the Nazi government for financial support. An officer of the Los Angeles local of the Bund stated in conversation in early 1936



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that his organization had contributed to the Silver Shirts. When Pelley first launched his organization, he was quite optimistic about getting money from the German government. He tried hard to get in touch with the right people but his efforts were fruitless, to judge by the testimony of Business Manager George S. Anderson.

*Questioner:* At one time he (Pelley) told you he had certain information . . . that he would come to Washington, and that he could meet an agent of the German government, did he not?

*Anderson:* That is true.

*Questioner:* And he had some hopes of being able to get money?

*Anderson:* That is true.

*Questioner:* From the agent of the German government?

*Anderson:* That is my understanding. . . .

*Anderson:* I asked him immediately on his return (from Washington) if he had met the party he expected to contact and he said he had not.<sup>20</sup>

During the first five years of its existence, the Silver Shirts organization was not financially successful. Harder-headed anti-semitic leaders such as Gerald Winrod and Harry Jung<sup>21</sup> have always been able to induce wealthy persons to contribute large sums to their organizations. Pelley, however, was until recently too much of a dreamer to realize that an hour spent recounting the horrors of Communism to a business man who is alive and wealthy is more worthwhile than a month spent in "the world of subliminal existence" communing with even the greatest of departed souls. (To be sure, Mrs. Marie Ogden<sup>22</sup> had once "invested" \$14,000 in Pelley's Galahad Press, but this "investment" was made before the founding of the Silver Shirts.) As a result, Pelley was constantly in debt. In September, 1933, his creditors were pressing him on every side, and he was making desperate efforts to secure financial aid. Later the same year he was even in arrears to his employees; he owed \$800 to one of the faculty members of Galahad College. In January of 1934 a letter from Silver Shirt headquarters to Harry Jung spoke of "the distressful financial difficulties which we are all experiencing." Pelley had to shift the publication of the *Silver Ranger* from Oklahoma City to Los Angeles because he was unable to meet the printer's bill in the former city. Early in 1938 Pelley began to realize that an organization such as his could expect only a precarious and harried existence unless it acquired some reasonably wealthy backers. At any rate, during the years 1938 and 1939 he received \$4,600 from George B. Fisher, a publishing company executive; \$3,800 from Sarah C. Scott of Belmont, Massachusetts, and \$630 from Dr. John R. Brinkley.<sup>23</sup>

## CHAPTER V

### The National Union for Social Justice and the Christian Front

FATHER CHARLES E. COUGHLIN is comparatively a latecomer to the field of anti-semitism. As early as 1933, the leaders of most of the anti-semitic organizations treated in this study began to present their anti-semitic ideology as explanation of the country's ills, but Coughlin did not begin spreading his variation of the ideology until 1938. He differs, too, in that he had an established reputation before he turned to anti-semitism; other leaders were unknown until they drew attention to themselves by their attacks on Jews. And he is especially important because he has brought a large Catholic contingent into an anti-semitic movement that has been chiefly Protestant.

#### LEADERSHIP

Coughlin was born in Hamilton, Ontario, Canada, in 1891. His family background and early life is described concisely by Raymond Gram Swing:<sup>1</sup>

. . . he was of pure Irish stock. His father, grandfather, and great-grandfather were Irish-American workingmen. His great-grandfather helped dig the Erie Canal. His father, born in Indiana, was stoker on the Great Lakes, drifted to Hamilton, Ontario, became sexton of the cathedral, met a devout seamstress, also of Irish stock, and married her.

He was educated in St. Mary's parochial school of Hamilton, then in St. Michael's College (under the Basilian Fathers), and took his first college degree at the age of twenty at the University of Toronto . . . He was able to go for a three months trip to Europe after finishing at Toronto, and came back troubled in mind as to his career. His inclinations were in three directions—the church, politics, and sociology . . . At the dock, on his return from Europe, he met his favorite college teacher, who took him away for a long talk. It ended in his being persuaded to enter the church; and he plunged into the arduous preparatory work under the Basilian order in Toronto. He was ordained four years later and spent his first year as a priest teaching English in Assumption College, Sandwich, Ontario. Then began the trips to Detroit, and the transfer to that diocese followed. For three years he was in Kalamazoo and for a short period in North Branch before Bishop Gallagher chose him for the trying task of building up the parish of Royal Oak.

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In 1926, the same year he was assigned to the Royal Oak parish in Michigan, he began his radio talks. Station WJR Detroit granted him broadcasting time to build up his parish—nothing more.

His sermons, and later his afternoon addresses to children, were broadcast for four years without bringing Father Coughlin fame. Gradually he changed the nature of his children's talks, peppering his religion with a seasoning of politics and economics. It was not until 1930, when . . . echoing letters aroused in him the first glimpse of his own potentialities, that he organized the Radio League of the Little Flower and boldly branched out. He engaged time on stations in Chicago and Cincinnati at \$1,650 a week . . . Letters now came in regularly in hundreds and thousands, many with contributions for the league or the new shrine . . . The response in letters and money justified further expansion, and Father Coughlin rented time on a sixteen station hookup of the Columbia system.

He became a national figure almost at once. Currency was his most popular theme . . . He assailed the bankers . . . His discourse on the subject of "Hoover Prosperity Means a New War" brought him his largest response, 1,200,000 letters . . .

After many discourses on banking, money, and capitalistic greed, he devoted a series to Communism.

When in 1932 the Columbia Broadcasting Company refused to renew Coughlin's contract and the National Broadcasting Company declined to take him on, the manager of WJR came to his aid.

He worked out the details by which Father Coughlin could hire his own stations and pay for the connecting telephone lines himself. Thus he created his own network. It embraced at first eleven stations and grew to twenty-six from Maine to Colorado, costing him \$14,000 a week.<sup>2</sup>

During the early months of the New Deal, Coughlin reached the highest point of his popularity. He backed the administration with such assertions as "the New Deal is God's deal" and such slogans as "Roosevelt or Ruin." He commuted between Detroit and Washington, conferring frequently with Raymond Moley and other members of the "Brain Trust." Though his popularity began to decline shortly thereafter, he was still able to rally millions from time to time. When in 1935 he attacked proposals to join the World Court, his followers deluged Congress with such a flood of telegrams that the Washington offices of the telegraph companies were temporarily disrupted.

After a long period of private grumbling against Roosevelt and the New Deal, he finally broke publicly. In the 1936 Presidential campaign he was the chief backer of the third party ticket headed by Congressman William Lemke. In one of his campaign speeches Coughlin boldly announced, "If I cannot swing at least 9,000,000 votes to Mr.

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Lemke, I will quit broadcasting educational talks on economics and politics." Lemke's total vote was about one-tenth that number—891,858. Three days after the election Coughlin announced, "I am withdrawing from all radio activity in the best interests of all the people."

In November, 1936, the New Deal was at the peak of its popularity. The radio priest's efforts to oppose it had ended in a miserable fiasco. In 1937 and early 1938, however, there occurred several events which affected the New Deal's popularity. Moreover, the wave of strikes and the business recession made many persons ready to listen to any leader who would tell them the cause of their troubles. Coughlin sensed this fact and returned to the fray with a simple explanation of the country's woes—the Communistic Jews were the cause of it all.

Up to this time Coughlin had never disseminated an anti-semitic ideology. He had attacked the bankers. He had supported the New Deal and then turned upon it with unqualified bitterness. And although he had attacked the Communists he had never identified them with the Jews. Not until July, 1938, did his newspaper *Social Justice* begin printing the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and not until November 20, 1938, did he begin his radio attacks on the Jews. The explanation might be that Coughlin became suddenly convinced of the validity of anti-semitic doctrines, or it might be simply the case of a discredited leader anxious to return to the spotlight, who seized upon this ideology as an expedient in the belief that it would build up a following.

### PROPAGANDA

The most important channel through which Coughlin's current ideology is circulated is the radio. His hookup now consists of 47 stations. Second to the radio, Coughlin's weekly newspaper, *Social Justice*, is hawked on the street corners of the nation's largest cities. Its circulation of about one million copies<sup>3</sup> makes it the most widely read anti-semitic periodical in America. Although the offices of the paper are in Coughlin's church, it is not an approved Catholic publication. It is a private business and, therefore, is not subject to ecclesiastical censorship. It is owned by the Social Justice Publishing Company, which is in turn controlled by the Social Justice Poor Society, a holding company controlled by Coughlin. Its officers and directors are clerks and stenographers in his offices.<sup>4</sup> Less important channels of Coughlin propaganda are the sale of anti-semitic books and pamphlets. These publications are distributed chiefly from Coughlin's church, their sales promoted persistently in the columns of *Social Justice*.

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Certain characteristics can be noted in propaganda that is disseminated through these channels. Coughlin endeavors to establish the truth of his assertions by quoting obscure authorities or material not easily available. In certain instances, however, individuals have undertaken to check on Coughlin's "authorities" and have discovered cases of outright misquotation and of manufactured "authorities." In connection with the 1940 anniversary of Lincoln's birthday, for example, *Social Justice* asserted that the American Civil War was fought not over slavery but for freedom from the Jewish international bankers. To prove this contention, there appeared what purported to be a quotation from a book by John Reeves entitled *The Rothschilds*. The book, published in 1887 and out-of-print, quoted a speech made by Disraeli at a family gathering of the Rothschilds. The version appearing in *Social Justice* was:

Under this roof are the heads of the family of Rothschild—a name famous in every capital of Europe and every division of the globe. If you like, we shall divide the United States into two parts, one for you, James, and one for you, Lionel. Napoleon will do exactly and all that I shall advise him.

Howard Vincent O'Brien, veteran columnist of the *Chicago Daily News*, took the trouble to secure a copy of the volume in question and found that the quotation actually read as follows:

Under this roof are the heads of the family of Rothschild—a name famous in every capital of Europe and every division of the globe—a family not more regarded for its riches than esteemed for its honour, virtues, and public spirit.

It is difficult to understand how so great a variance from the original text could have been accidental.<sup>5</sup>

Another instance of misinformation was the assertion of *Social Justice* that two Polish rabbis, Rabbi Rudolph Fleischman of Schochin and Rabbi Grunfeld of Swarzedz, had admitted the authenticity of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. According to the chief rabbi of Wilna, Poland, no such rabbis have ever existed.<sup>6</sup>

Coughlin often pretends to possess highly confidential information. Quoting a non-existent authority, he declared in his broadcast of November 27, 1938:

The chief document, treating of the financing of the Russian revolution, is one drawn up by the American Secret Service and transmitted by the French High Commissioner to his government. It was published by the *Documentation Catholique* of Paris on March 6, 1920, and was preceded by the following remarks, namely, "The authenticity of this document is guaranteed to us. With regard to its exactness, the exactness of the information which it contains, the American Secret Service takes responsibility."

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On the following day Frank J. Wilson, chief of the United States Secret Service, issued a press release stating that "no such report was ever made by the United States Secret Service."

One other distinctive characteristic of Coughlin's propaganda is the directness of his quotation from Nazi propaganda material. All American anti-semitic leaders are influenced by Nazi ideas, and most of them read propaganda printed in Germany for distribution to English-speaking countries; but no other leader has been so unguarded in his verbatim copying of Nazi propaganda. On September 13, 1935, Dr. Goebbels spoke before the Seventh National Socialist Congress and made a bitter attack on the Jews. The speech was published in the official report of the Nazi Party Congress at Nuremberg (*Der Parteitag der Freiheit*). Later it was reprinted in English for distribution in English-speaking countries. On December 5, 1938, Father Coughlin published an article in *Social Justice* over his own signature entitled "Background for Persecution." In it, whole portions of the Goebbels speech were copied without the change of more than a few words. The speech and the article are here reproduced in parallel columns.

### GOEBBELS' SPEECH

On April 30, 1919, in the courtyard of the Luitpold Gymnasium in Munich, the hostages, among them one woman, were shot through the backs, their bodies rendered unrecognizable and taken away. This act was done at the order of the Communist terrorist, Egelhofer, and under the responsibility of the Jewish Soviet Commissars, Levien, Levine-Nissen and Axelrod.

The Jewish Tschekist, Bela Kun, made an experiment which rivaled the Paris Commune in bloodshed, when he ordered the execution of 60,000 to 70,000 people in the Crimea.

For the most part, these executions were carried out with machine guns. At the municipal hospital in Alupka 272 sick and wounded were brought out on stretchers in front of the gate of the institution and there shot.

In November, 1934, the Chinese Marshal Chiang Kai-shek, made public the information that in the Province of Kiangsi 1,000,000 people were

### COUGHLIN'S ARTICLE

On April 30, 1919, in the courtyard of the Luitpold Gymnasium in Munich, ten hostages, among them one woman, were murdered. This act was perpetrated by the direct order of the Communist terrorist Egelhofer, and under the responsibility of the Jewish Soviet Commissars, Levien, Levine-Nissen and Axelrod.

At a later date, the same Bela Kun ordered the execution of approximately 60,000 people in the Crimea. For the most part, these executions were carried out with machine guns. At the municipal hospital in Alupka, 272 sick and wounded were brought out on stretchers in front of the gate of the institution and there shot.

In November, 1934, the Chinese Marshal Chiang Kai-shek, made public the information that in the Province of Kiangsi 1,000,000 people were

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murdered by the Communists and 6,000,000 robbed of their possessions.

The Soviet statistician, Oganowsky, estimates the number of persons who died of hunger in the years 1921-1922 at 5,200,000.

The Austrian Cardinal Archbishop, Monsignor Innitzer, said in his appeal of July, 1934, that millions of people were dying of hunger throughout the Soviet Union.

The most boorish example of the interference of "Soviet Diplomats" for the purpose of creating domestic political trouble in another country is afforded by the Jewish Soviet Ambassador, Joffe, who had to leave Berlin on the sixth of November, 1918, because he had utilized the diplomatic courier to transport sabotage material which was to be used to undermine the German army and make the revolution possible.

On the 26th of December, 1918, one of the Socialist members of the Reichstag, the Jew, Dr. Oskar Cohn, declared that on the 5th of the previous month, he had received 4,000,000 rubles from Joffe for the purpose of the German revolution.

At the second Congress of Atheists, Bucharin declared that religion must be "destroyed with the bayonet."

The Social Democrat "League of German Free Thinkers" alone had a membership of 600,000. The Communist "League of Proletarian Free Thinkers" had close to 160,000 members. Almost without exception, the intellectual leaders of Marxist atheism in Germany were Jews, among them being Erich Weinert, Felix Abraham, Dr. Levy-Lenz and others. At regular meetings held in the presence

murdered by the Communists and 6,000,000 robbed of their possessions.

The Soviet statistician, Oganowsky, estimates the number of persons who died of hunger in the years 1921-1922 at more than 5,000,000.

The Austrian Cardinal Archbishop, Mgr. Innitzer, said in his appeal of July, 1934, that millions of people were dying of hunger throughout the Soviet Union.

Before the advent of Hitler to power Germany was undermined steadily by espionage of the most treasonable kind. The Jewish Soviet Ambassador, Joffe, was forced to leave Germany on November 6, 1918, because he was found guilty of utilizing the diplomatic courier to transport sabotage material which was used to undermine the German army and make revolution possible.

On December 26, 1918, one of the Socialist members of the Reichstag, the eminent Jew, Dr. Oskar Cohn, declared that on the 5th of the previous month he had received 4,000,000 rubles from Joffe for the purpose of instigating a revolution in Germany.

Remember that, when the second Congress of Atheists convened Bucharin declared that religion must be "destroyed with the bayonet."

In Germany the Social Democratic League of German Free-Thinkers had a membership of 600,000. The Communist "League of Proletarian Free-Thinkers" numbered close to 160,000 members. Almost without exception, the intellectual leaders—if not the foot and hand leaders—of Marxist atheism in Germany were Jews. . . . Not good Jews but bad Jews; not Jews who opposed Com-

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of a notary public, members were requested to register their declaration of withdrawal from their church for a fee of two marks. And thus the fight for atheism was carried on. Between 1918 and 1933 the withdrawals from the German Evangelical churches alone amounted to 2,500,000 persons in Germany.

In 1919, during the Bolshevik regime of Bela Kun, a Jew, whose real name was Aaron Cohn, in Budapest twenty hostages were murdered.

The Jew, Gubermann, who, under the name of Jaroslowski, is the leader of the Association of Militant Atheists in the Soviet Union, has made the following declaration:

"It is our duty to destroy every religious world-concept. . . . If the destruction of 10,000,000 human beings, as happened in the last war, should be necessary for the triumph of one definite class, then that must be done, and it will be done."

munism but Jews who supported it. Among them were Erich Weinert, Felix Abraham and Dr. Levy-Lenz. At regular meetings held in the presence of a notary public, members were requested to register their declaration of withdrawal from their church for a fee of two marks. With such bribes, the fight for atheism was carried on. And between 1918 and 1933 the withdrawals from the German Evangelical churches were estimated at close to 2,500,000 persons in Germany.

In 1919 Hungary, a neighbor to Germany, was overrun with Communists. The notorious atheist, Bela Kun, a Jew whose real name was Aaron Cohn, murdered 20,000.

The atheist Jew, Gubermann, under the name of Jaroslowski and then the leader of the militant atheists in Soviet Union, also declared:

"It is our duty to destroy every religious world-concept. If the destruction of 10,000,000 human beings, as happened in the last war, should be necessary for the triumph of one definite class, then that must be done, and it will be done."

### MEMBERSHIP

Coughlin's following must be thought of in terms of those who are exposed to his propaganda. The best estimate of the size of his radio audience was made by the American Institute of Public Opinion in its January 9, 1939, release. It estimated that 3,500,000 persons regularly listened to Coughlin every Sunday and that two-thirds of these listeners approved of him. Probably most of the one million readers of *Social Justice* are among his radio listeners. That Coughlin's followers are primarily Catholics is a safe assumption; this point will be treated in greater detail later in the chapter. Anti-Catholic feeling among Protestants, though not intense, is real enough to make it appear unlikely that a Catholic priest could build up a strong following of Protestants. (According to the findings of Dr. Gallup's Institute, most of Coughlin's followers are in the lower income group.)



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Attention must be focused on those followers who are organized into what Coughlin refers to as the *Christian Front*. In the May 23, 1938, issue of *Social Justice* Coughlin first urged his readers to form "platoons", providing the basis for the Front.

Let your organization be composed of no more than twenty-five members. After a few contacts with these twenty-five persons you will observe that two of them may be capable of organizing twenty-five more. Invite these capable people to do that very thing.

A few weeks later *Social Justice* (June 13, 1938) carried an article entitled "Message to Platoons" in which Coughlin stated, "You and your people are affiliated directly to me." The same issue carried an editorial declaring: "When the proper moment arrives and not before that time, Father Coughlin will assemble all those organizations whose leaders care to follow him." One of the first platoons was organized by Father Burke of the Paulist Fathers in New York. This group adopted the name "Christian Front." Two discontented New York musicians, Harry and Joe Thorne, actually coined this name back in 1935 but nothing ever came of their idea until Father Coughlin turned to anti-semitism.

As late as the autumn of 1939 all Christian Front membership cards and other literature bore the address "P. O. Box 69, Station G, New York City." This box was rented in the name of the Paulist Fathers. Meetings were held secretly in the Paulist Fathers' Rectory at 413 West 59th Street, New York City, and converts were trained and taught the need for drastic methods to save Christianity from the Jewish-Communist menace. To prevent exposure, the heads of the Paulist Fathers transferred Father Burke to a parish in the Middle West and the Christian Front's headquarters were moved to Donovan's Beer Hall at 308 West 59th Street.

In order to create the impression that the response to Coughlin's appeal was the spontaneous, independent reaction of miscellaneous groups, organizers formed "platoon" organizations in different sections of New York and gave them different names. In Manhattan appeared such groups as the American Patriots, the American Women Against Communism; in Brooklyn, the Flying Squads of America and the American Citizens Committee Against Communism; and in the Bronx, groups whose names consisted of other combinations of patriotic symbols. The term *Christian Front* now came to be used as a general term to apply to the various groups formed under the directorship of the original Christian Front officials.

Organizing efforts were pushed vigorously. By the following summer, the July 31, 1939, issue of *Social Justice* was able to proclaim that

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"along the Eastern seaboard during the last six months there is emerging a highly organized and rapidly growing militant Christian Front." Although "along the Eastern seaboard" is a rather misleading description of the growth of the organization, efforts were made to spread it to cities other than New York. The July 24, 1939, issue of *Social Justice* reported the meeting of "more than 8,500 crusaders" who "jammed two Philadelphia halls to hear the voice of Father Coughlin" transmitted to them by telephone from Detroit. The article continued, "Father Coughlin praised the heroism and zeal of the Christian Front in those areas where its work has already borne fruit, and urged Philadelphians to emulate their Christianity and Americanism." The psychic satisfaction of being both good Christians and good Americans can hardly be underestimated.

New York has been the real center of Christian Front activity. Each of the groups belonging to the Front has sponsored rallies at which the officers of other groups have appeared as guest speakers. During the spring and summer of 1939, an average of fifty to seventy meetings were held every week, haranguing their audiences with vituperation against Communistic Jews despoiling the country.

That the Christian Front is thoroughly controlled by Coughlin is altogether evident. The following facts indicate the extent of this control. The Christian Front of New York scheduled an anti-Communist parade for August 19, 1939. Coughlin decided to call it off. In his broadcast on August 13th, he stated that he disapproved of the parade. The following Saturday no one marched. The January 1, 1940 issue of *Social Justice* also leaves no doubt that Coughlin is the leader of the Christian Front. It said:

These great broadcasts are YOURS. Father Coughlin is only the spokesman for a rapidly forming and tremendously powerful element of our country—the Christian Front.

New York Front activities have been led by John F. Cassidy. *Social Justice* said on July 31, 1939:

From a modest start of only thirty-six men banded together in Brooklyn last year, the organization has penetrated all boroughs of the metropolis. Under the leadership of Mr. John F. Cassidy of Brooklyn, there are now five central units operating in the metropolitan district.

The preceding issue of *Social Justice* had also made reference to Cassidy; he had addressed a Philadelphia meeting, sketching the formation and growth of the Christian Front. Cassidy gained considerable notoriety when in 1940 the Federal Bureau of Investigation arrested him as the leader of a plot to overthrow the United States

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government. The ideological kindling for this plot had been supplied by Father Coughlin's advocacy of force.

On July 30, 1939, the announcer for Father Coughlin's broadcast said, "Today's discourse sounds a call to action. Following 1936, Father Coughlin retired from all active organization; today, he is encouraging the growth of the Christian Front." The Bolsheviks of America were then asked to ponder upon this fact:

That the Christian Front is no longer a dream; it is a reality in America, a reality that grows stronger, more courageous and more determined under the threat of your ideological invasion.

Coughlin delivered an address that included this statement:

Nevertheless the Christian way is the peaceful way until—until—all arguments having failed, there is left no other way but the way of defending ourselves against the invaders of our spiritual and national rights, the Franco way. And when your rights have been challenged, when all civil liberty has succumbed before the invaders, then and only then may Christians meet force with force.

Legal questions sometimes arise as to exactly what constitutes an incitement to violence; however, it would seem difficult to interpret Coughlin's approving reference to "the Franco way" as anything other than just that. The same type of endorsement of violence was repeated in the November 20, 1939, issue of *Social Justice*. In a contest conducted by the paper, the following question was asked: "What is Father Coughlin's most emphatic advice to the Christian Front?" The winning answer appeared in capitals: "MEET FORCE WITH FORCE AS A LAST RESORT."<sup>7</sup> If Coughlin has sometimes been indirect in his advocacy of force, his followers have not been. Key organizer Cassidy has been particularly forthright, as a report of a Christian Front meeting indicates.

Cassidy then announced that a "sports club" is being organized by the Christian Front which will teach men how to take orders and accept discipline. Members of the "sports club," he said, must be ready to go into the streets and protect their rights by force. All younger members of the Christian Front should and must be members of the "sports club," Cassidy said. This unit will train the younger members in the use of "walking sticks" to protect themselves. . . .<sup>8</sup>

At the same gathering Cassidy said:

We are prepared to say to the Communists that they lay down their arms or we will meet their arms with our arms—firearms. War is declared in New York on Christianity. We must be prepared to defend Christianity.<sup>9</sup>

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In other parts of the city, groups prepared for violence. In Manhattan small groups of Christian Fronters met at Donovan Hall twice a week for drill.

On January 13, 1940, the Federal Bureau of Investigation arrested 17 members of a sports club of the Christian Front. According to J. Edgar Hoover, the group planned to "eliminate" Jews and Communists, "to knock off about a dozen Congressmen," and to seize post offices, the Customs House, and armories in New York. In the homes of the group were found 18 cans of cordite, 18 rifles, and 5,000 rounds of ammunition. The men were held on \$50,000 bail apiece. The leader of the group, who was addressed as *fuehrer* by his followers, was none other than Cassidy. The day following the arrest Coughlin disavowed any connection with the plotters. In the next two weeks, however, he changed his stand, and in the January 29th issue of *Social Justice* he stated:

We do not hold a brief for anybody charged with sedition against the government; but neither are we running out on the fine body of New York Christians who make up the membership of the Christian Front. . . .

Recognizing also that in one sense the opposition to Communism is on trial, I freely choose to be identified as a friend of the accused. It matters not whether they be guilty or innocent; be they ardent followers of the principles of Christ or the betrayers of them, my place is by their side until they are released or convicted.

There I take my stand.

Although the plot involved shows how effective Coughlin's incitements to violence can be, it provides little ground for characterizing the entire membership of the Christian Front as advocates of violence.

The membership of the Christian Front is predominantly Irish Catholic of the low and moderate income groups. It is concentrated in cities of large Catholic populations: New York City contains the largest portion; such New England centers as Boston and Hartford have sizeable groups. That Catholics should be overwhelmingly predominant in a movement headed by a Catholic priest is only what might be assumed. The validity of this assumption is attested by an article in *Christian Social Action*, the Catholic layman's magazine.<sup>10</sup> Viewing the Front with alarm, it stated: "The people in this movement are for the most part honest Catholics. . . . It daily converts fresh members of our Catholic people. . . . The first meeting is reported to have been attended by a New York priest. . . . Now it enjoys the apparent support of Catholic agencies that should be more wary of its implications." An article in the *Christian Century*, a Protestant publication, appearing about the same time, took the same

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point of view about the Front's membership.<sup>11</sup> Another indication of the Catholic character of the membership is the active cooperation given the movement by a number of priests, among the most active being Rev. Edward Lodge Curran, President of the International Catholic Truth Society, and Rev. Peter Baptiste Duffee, pastor of the St. Francis of Assisi Church in New York City.

The author of the *Christian Century's* article noted also the predominance of Irish Catholics in the Christian Front, declaring that "its membership is at present almost entirely Irish and Catholic, with a sprinkling of Germans and Italians." Other evidence supports this contention. At a meeting of the Christian Mobilizers, one of the units of the Front, a speaker said, "Thomas Jefferson, and I think he was Irish, by the way . . .," a typical flattering reference before Irish audiences. Moreover, among the 17 plotters appeared several Irish names—Michael J. Beirne, Michael Vill, Keegan, Walsh, Kelly, Malone, and Cassidy.

That the members come from low and moderate income groups is suggested by their occupational characteristics. In describing a Brooklyn Christian Front Meeting, *Christian Social Action* said:

About seventy-five people were in the hall, most of them appearing to be laboring men, sincere men, people who have worked for a livelihood. There were New York City policemen present, an ex-college professor, truckmen, school teachers, and a few steamship workers. . . .

An investigation made through Mayor La Guardia showed that 407 members of the New York police department had joined the Front.<sup>12</sup> Thirteen of the 17 plotters who were employed consisted of three clerks, three salesmen, a telephone lineman, a tailor, a telegraph manager, a swimming instructor, an elevator mechanic, a bus driver, and a printer.

A close examination of one of the seventeen plotters might throw some light on the type of person attracted to the Front.<sup>13</sup> Michael Joseph Bierne was thirty-two years old and married. For the past sixteen years he had been a contented worker at the New York Telephone Company. At the time of his arrest he was making \$60 a week as a lineman. Bierne had come from Ireland at the age of fifteen. His schooling had ended at the age of thirteen. He was a devout Catholic and attended church every Sunday. Until Coughlin began his anti-semitic broadcasts, he showed absolutely no interest in such matters. He was "no heavy-duty thinker," as a relative of his said. Since he had been brought up to respect the authority of the church, Coughlin's vivid account of the dangers of Communism and the need of "the

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Franco way" profoundly impressed him. A relative explained, "The fact that Father Coughlin was a priest of the church led Michael to think that the Catholic Church had given its blessing to the Christian Front movement." When the agents of the FBI roused Bierne and his wife in the middle of the night, charging him with plotting to overthrow the government of the United States, he babbled, "I was only trying to be a good American."

Bierne is typical of the thousands of Catholics of Irish extraction who make up the radio priest's following. Persons of limited educational opportunities, they do not know that the Pope has twice condemned anti-semitism and that Coughlin's superior, the late Cardinal Mundelein, had stated that he "is not authorized to speak for the Catholic Church, nor does he represent the doctrine or sentiments of the church."<sup>14</sup> Somehow Coughlin's followers think of him as a golden-voiced man of God speaking with the full authority of the Catholic Church.

Another unusual characteristic of Christian Front membership is the fact that it has attracted a large number of unstable personalities. (Unstable personalities prominent in the Silver Shirts were mentioned in Chapter IV, and similar types will be noted in succeeding chapters.) The Christian Front has a greater number of active members with criminal records than any of the other organizations. This circumstance is perhaps not surprising for the Front is frankest in its advocacy of violence. Joseph Hartery, alias Joseph Herman, is a Christian Front leader with an unsavory past. On January 7, 1932, he was sentenced to 30 days in the workhouse for operating a house of prostitution. On December 14, 1938, he was arrested for assault and battery with knife and sentenced to three days in the workhouse. On August 1, 1939, he was arrested for disorderly conduct and fined. John Zitter, active in the Christian Front, was arrested on October 16, 1934, for petty larceny and convicted. He was subsequently arrested several times for disorderly conduct. Edwin Westphal, a member of both the Front and the Bund, was arrested on September 27, 1929, for burglary and committed to a hospital for the insane. On July 14, 1930, he was sent to a reformatory as a wayward minor. On July 1, 1937, he was arrested for violation of the copyright law and given 60 days in the workhouse. On August 25, 1939, he was arrested for disorderly conduct when he tried to incite a crowd to rise against the police. Edmund Burke, formerly of the Front and the Bund, is a convicted burglar. Dilling, alias Dougherty, has been arrested and convicted for assault on three occasions, one of these times for assaulting a policeman. Lucienti, a *Social Justice* salesman, with several aliases, has been arrested seven times for disorderly conduct and assault.

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### FUNDS

About all that is positively known about Coughlin's finances is that he takes in and spends more money than the leader of any other anti-semitic group. In the December 18, 1939, issue of *Social Justice*, he pleaded for \$200,000 in contributions to enable him to carry on his radio work. "Radio expense is now close to \$10,000 per week," he explained. With 47 stations in his hookup this means that Coughlin has spent close to \$500,000 a year on radio broadcasts alone. Statements of the assets and liabilities of various Coughlin corporations, as found in annual reports to governmental agencies of Michigan, give certain general clues. Note the rise of his assets between 1934 and 1938.<sup>15</sup>

|      |               |
|------|---------------|
| 1934 | .....\$ 6,298 |
| 1935 | .....79,358   |
| 1936 | .....205,787  |
| 1937 | .....196,297  |
| 1938 | .....472,539  |

Few exact details are known regarding Coughlin's sources of funds. Back in 1931 and 1932 he learned that an appeal for funds, coupled with a suggestion that he might have to discontinue his work, could bring a shower of letters filled with donations. Gifts, large and small, are his chief source of income. Subscriptions to *Social Justice* also produce revenue. He always pushes the circulation of the paper. It is constantly promoted in Coughlin's broadcasts and in form letters which open with subscription pleas and close with such expressions as "God bless you" or a "Remember me in your prayers." A minor source of income, and another interesting combination of commercialism and religion, is the shop—actually inside Coughlin's church—where there are sold crucifixes, the Bible, picture postcards of Coughlin, and literature on the alleged schemes of Jewish Reds.

Suggested elsewhere in this study is the fact that no anti-semitic group can live a vigorous existence without some support from the wealthy. Coughlin with his broadcasts and his newspapers operates a tremendously expensive propaganda machine. That he supports the machine entirely by small donations from his radio public is difficult to believe. Circumstantial evidence points to a greater source of income. In 1935 and 1936, when Coughlin furiously attacked the New Deal, most wealthy people were doing the same. In 1938, he fought the unionization of the Detroit auto plants. He has constantly inveighed against the menace of Communism. In short, he has invariably been on the same side of the fence as have the upper-income groups.<sup>16</sup>

## CHAPTER VI

### Defenders of the Christian Faith

The supreme need is a great sweeping revival, a spiritual awakening. Without it our doom is sealed! . . . I now affirm that America must choose between Revival and Revolution.

If we are to be spared the agonies of a bloody revolution, it will be because the Nation turns to God. . . . BACK TO GOD, BACK TO THE BIBLE, BACK TO RUGGED EVANGELISM THAT PUTS THE FEAR OF GOD IN THE HEARTS OF THE PEOPLE.

HERE is the basic creed of the Defenders of the Christian Faith. Although its membership is a mailing list, although its government is one man, this organization has taken it upon itself to deluge the nation with literature compounded of fiery Protestant Fundamentalism and bitter anti-semitism. Ever since 1925, when the organization was born, the Rev. Gerald B. Winrod, its founder, has been a foe of modernism in religion; but not until January (or February) 1933, did he discover that behind modernism—and every other evil in the materialistic world—was "Jewish Bolshevism."

#### LEADERSHIP

Winrod entered the ministry by following in the footsteps of his father. The elder Winrod spent his early life as a bartender in a Wichita saloon that was among the first to feel the wrath of Carrie Nation and her hatchet. During Carrie's raid, Winrod the elder looked on philosophically, making no effort to protect the property. He came to see the error of his calling, abandoned it, and, eventually, became an evangelist. As he put it,<sup>1</sup> "We [Mrs. Winrod and himself] felt directed to begin a distinctly evangelistic testimony in Wichita." Offspring Gerald, born in 1898, spent all his youth in Wichita. Early in his life he was taken in charge by a traveling evangelist, who tutored him for several years and made a "boy preacher" out of him. This is important to note, for Gerald Winrod has never had any formal theological training. His degree of D.D. is an honorary one conferred upon him in 1935 by the Los Angeles Baptist Theological Seminary. The president of that institution stated:

Our academic records show that on June 2nd, 1935, the degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon Gerald B. Winrod of Wichita,



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Editor of the *Defender*, and a distinguished minister of the Gospel, in recognition of his valuable leadership both in the field of Christian Journalism and Theology.

Young Winrod worked with his father and eventually took over the burden of the evangelism and religious tract writing. He soon organized the Defenders of the Christian Faith and built the large Defenders' Gospel Tabernacle. At no time has he ever held a pastorate<sup>2</sup> nor has he been connected with any denomination. His work is non-denominational. As his secretary has stated, "Dr. Winrod has no church of his own. The entire United States and Canada are his congregation."

Winrod is a man of no small ambitions. In 1938 he entered a four-cornered race in Kansas for the Republican nomination to the United States Senate. He staged an elaborate campaign, using, among other media, sound trucks and the radio. For a time his candidacy looked promising. Finally, John Hamilton, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, expressed the party's disapproval of Winrod on the ground of his "intolerance." As a result, Winrod placed third in the election.

Winrod attributes all his important acts to divine guidance. For instance, in one letter he said: "It was back in the year 1929 that God directed me to form this inner circle." In another, he wrote: "While I was in Wittenburg, God gave me inspiration for a new book which I have just written entitled *Martin Luther and the Reformation*. Beyond doubt this is one of the most important books the Holy Spirit has ever prompted me to write."

### PROPAGANDA

The Defenders have utilized nearly all channels of propaganda. The monthly magazine, the *Defender*, and the monthly newspaper, the *Revealer*, have been the most important media. In addition, the followers of the Defenders distribute a vast quantity of books, tracts, and pamphlets. They hold Bible conferences and revival meetings all over the country and make considerable use of the radio. For a few months they experimented with a Washington news bureau. The first issue of the *Defender* appeared in April 1926. By 1937 this magazine—an annual subscription to which costs only 50 cents a year—had a circulation of 100,000 copies per issue. In addition, Winrod has published a Spanish edition of his magazine, *El Defensor Hispano*, which circulates in Puerto Rico, Cuba, and Mexico. The *Revealer* appeared in April 1934 and, by February 1935, had a circulation of 50,000. Winrod attempted to extend its influence beyond its immediate subscribers. One of his "Inner Circle" letters urged: "Don't let a copy of the *Revealer*

## DEFENDERS OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH

die. As soon as you have finished reading it, hand it to a Friend." In January 1937, however, he discontinued its publication.

Pamphlets constitute a highly important part of the Defenders' propaganda. In addition to carrying a large part of the writing burden of his two periodicals, Winrod has written a great number of pamphlets, the majority of which are of an anti-semitic nature. A list of such pamphlets with their publication date and the number printed includes: *Three Modern Evils—Modernism, Atheism, and Bolshevism* (1932—6,000 copies), *The NRA in Prophecy and a Discussion of Beast Worship* (1933—8,000 copies), *The U. S. and Russia in Prophecy and the Red Horse of the Apocalypse* (1933—5,000 copies), *Mussolini's Place in Prophecy* (1933—4,000 copies), *Communism and the Roosevelt Brain Trust* (1933—30,000 copies), *The Hidden Hand; The Protocols and the Coming Super Man* (1933—22,000 copies), and *The Truth About the Protocols* (1935—4,000 copies). Concerning the following pamphlets no data on the number printed is available. *World Trends Toward Anti-Christ* (1934), *The Anti-Christ and the Tribe of Dan* (1936), *The Harlot Woman and the Scarlet Beast* (1936), *The Curse of Modern Deism* (1936), *The Jewish Assault on Christianity* (1935), *Subversive Movements* (1937), *Americans, Drop Your Chains* (1938), and *America Facing the Present Crisis* (1938). These pamphlets apparently went through only one printing of 2,000 each—the rate at which most Winrod pamphlets have been published—for any additional printings have been usually indicated in the pamphlet concerned. The two listings suggest that about 95,000 anti-semitic pamphlets were printed in the years 1932-1936. Since 1937 Winrod has also sold pamphlets by other authors. Among these have been Blomgren's *The Red and Yellow Peril*, Sullivan's *Wolves in Sheep's Clothing and Hundreds of Questions and Answers on Socialism and Communism*, and Elizabeth Dilling's *Dare We Oppose Red Treason?*

Other forms of printed matter distributed by Winrod's Defenders are tracts—leaflets of twelve pages or less. Although most of these tracts are purely religious a few deal with political matters, as the following titles suggest: *Is America Seeing Red?*, *The Mark of the Beast*, *Blind Leaders of the Blind*, *The Coming Financial Octopus*, and *Revival or Revolution*. During the month of August 1935, no less than 75,000 tracts were distributed. Members of the "Defenders Tract Club" receive, in return for 25 cents monthly dues, a quantity of tracts, which they contribute to jails, hospitals, and CCC camps.

The Defenders sell a large variety of books. In addition to works of a strictly religious nature there are such volumes as Elizabeth Dilling's *The Red Network*, Dr. Arno C. Gaebele's *The Conflict of the Ages*,

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E. M. Hadley's *TNT*, E. H. Peterson's *The Underlying Causes of Our National Depression*, E. N. Sanctuary's *Are These Things So?*, and *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

Winrod never tires of organizing meetings and of traveling about the country to address them. Although apparently exaggerative, the following statements excerpted from one of Winrod's letters are substantially accurate:

We have reached audiences reaching into hundreds of thousands at Defenders Conferences in all sections of the United States and parts of Canada. We have been instrumental in getting hundreds of Revival meetings and Bible Conferences started in communities over the country.

In another letter written in May 1935, Winrod asserted that in the preceding ten months he had traveled 36,472 miles "in the service of our Lord and Master." Among the communities in which he has spoken are Beaumont, Texas; Memphis and Chattanooga, Tennessee; Abilene, Manhattan, and Peabody, Kansas; and Peoria, Illinois.

When Winrod broadcasts, he tempers his hatred for the Jews; consequently, the radio as a medium for his anti-semitic propaganda is of less importance than the others. During his campaign for the Republican Senatorial nomination, he spoke weekly for several months over a Kansas station, flaying Communism and the New Deal.

Early in 1937, Winrod tried unsuccessfully to establish in Washington, D. C., what might have turned out to be a very powerful propaganda instrument. This was the Capitol News and Feature Service, a bureau designed to furnish its version of current events to editors of 2,000 country papers. No charge was to be made for this service and the editors were to be permitted to use the material in whatever way they saw fit. The ambitious enterprise, directed by two former associates of William Dudley Pelley, began in January and, because of lack of funds, collapsed in April.

### MEMBERSHIP

The Defenders of the Christian Faith has no formal membership organization. It collects no dues, issues no membership cards. Its membership roll is merely a mailing list of those who read its literature. Some 6,000 people who are Winrod's most faithful readers and who contribute the funds in response to his frequent appeals comprise what Winrod calls his "Inner Circle". The subscribed circulation of the *Defender*, the most important publication, offers the best numerical estimate of Winrod's following. In 1930 the circulation was about 25,000; by 1934, 50,000; by October 1935, 80,000; and in January 1936,

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100,000. According to Winrod, the states that have the greatest number of subscribers are Pennsylvania, California, and Illinois. Other states strong in subscribers include Michigan, New York, Ohio, Kansas, and North Carolina.

Winrod's crusades carry the colors of Fundamentalism, attracting recruits from H. L. Mencken's "Bible belt". Indicative of this religious appeal is the following advertisement about the *Defender*:

If you would like to know how Current History can be interpreted in the light of Fulfilled Bible Prophecy;  
If you want to see Modernism exposed and refuted;  
If you want to know how the rising tide of Atheism is being stemmed;  
If you are interested in warning people against the dangers of Communism;  
If you want Scriptural and Scientific arguments against Evolution;  
If you would know prophecy and understand "the signs of the times";  
If you want to see the Historic and Evangelical Faith defended;  
THEN YOU ARE LOOKING FOR THE DEFENDER MAGAZINE.

Another indication is the titles of books reviewed in the *Defender*. These include *Modernism Cross-Examined*, *Evolution Cross-Examined*, *Crucifying Christ in Our Colleges*, *When the Trumpet Sounds*, *Modernism Unveiled*, *The Carnival of Death, or the Modern Dance*, *Studies in Prophecy*, *Amazing Fulfillments of Prophecy*, and *The Scriptures' Reply to the Arguments Against the Second Coming of Christ*.

Reports of Winrod's Bible conferences show that his followers have much in common with the crowds that attended Billy Sunday's revivals. His audiences are described as being "aroused to a frenzy." Anti-Catholic attacks both in the columns of the *Defender* and the speeches of Winrod—though infrequent—leave no room for doubt that his adherents are Protestants.<sup>3</sup> The limited educational opportunities of these adherents is suggested by their strong Fundamentalist belief in prophecy, i.e., the interpretation of current world happenings in terms that the Bible has foretold. Winrod has succinctly expressed this belief:

We are seeing that an ever-increasing constituency of Christian believers are becoming interested in the matter of Bible Prophecy. Indeed, there is no way to understand the strange events taking place in the world today except as they are understood in the light of prophecy. Communists may have taken the Bible out of Russia, but they did not take Russia out of the Bible.

This explains the appearance in the *Defender* of such articles as "Mussolini in the Searchlight of Prophecy", "Ethiopia in the Bible", and "A Biblical Analysis of the Nation's Plight." Winrod's faith in prophecy leads the *Defender* to make such observations as the follow-

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ing: "Students of Bible prophecy have been watching Mussolini for several years, because exactly such a man is described in the book of Daniel, to arise during the end-time of this age and revive the old Roman Empire." Winrod's belief in prophecy is not confined to Biblical versions but includes the Great Pyramid variety.<sup>4</sup>

Furthermore the Great Pyramid's secret is hid to all but the scientists of our own day who are Christians. Skeptics see in it a pile of stones. Believers, who search, find that it contains deep spiritual teaching. Its message is unintelligible except to those who come to it still holding the validity of the *units of Biblical measure* in terms of the Pyramid inch and cubit.

That the Defenders are primarily small-town and rural folk is shown by the rarity of Winrod's speeches in large cities. Occasionally he has talked in Kansas City, but apparently in no other large city. Indicative reports describe him as speaking at Manhattan, Kansas, before a group of "earnest souls from the Nazarene and Free Methodist Churches" or at Peoria, Illinois, under the auspices of the Peoria Tabernacle, an evangelistic organization, or at Peabody, Kansas, under the auspices of the local American Legion post.

A letter written as an aftermath of his speech at Peabody suggests the type of audience to whom Winrod appeals. The speech had been entitled "The Real Significance of Communism and the C. I. O.," but its anti-semitism had made Legion officials elsewhere in Kansas wonder if Winrod would be an appropriate speaker for their posts. Anxious to learn whether Winrod had been objectionably anti-semitic, a Legion official wrote to the Peabody post and received the following reply:

Winrod . . . did not in his address here say anything against Jews as a race—nothing which could be construed by *good* Jews of our land as antagonistic toward them. . . .

Your post can sponsor this lecture by Dr. Winrod without fear his remarks will be other than a real patriotic Biblical exposure of Communism and a defense of fundamental Americanism.

The letter was signed by a group of the town's most prominent citizens—the president of the Peabody Ministers' Association, the clergymen of the First Presbyterian and First Baptist Churches, the second vice-president of the Peabody State Bank, and the Commander, Past Commander, and Adjutant of the American Legion Post. The key phrase of the letter is "a real patriotic Biblical exposure of Communism and a defense of fundamental Americanism." Communism is thought of in Fundamentalist terms as something that can be foretold and exposed through a proper understanding of Biblical prophecy. The term, "fundamental Americanism," is of particular significance. The people of Peabody are Protestants. They are descendants of old American stock.

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They hold to an individualistic economic philosophy. They are firmly convinced that their moral standards should be accepted by the entire American people. Cities—with their labor organizations for collective bargaining, with their polyglot and "alien" populations of Jews and recent Catholic immigrants from Southern Europe, with their multiplicity of moral philosophies—represent to Peabody townsmen the centers where their "fundamental Americanism" is threatened by "Communism"—as they conceive of Communism.

Several factors indicate the economic status of Winrod's followers. The fact that their educational opportunities appear to have been limited suggests that they come from the lower-income groups. The nature of the advertisements in the *Defender* suggest the same thing. The magazine carries no advertisements for such standard products as cars, life insurance, and cigarettes—the advertisements that are found in most magazines. Instead, the *Defender* advertises mail-order courses in public speaking, cures for asthma, and preparations for keeping false teeth from slipping. If national advertisers thought the *Defender* appealed to a public with any buying power, they would have advertised in it, for a magazine with a circulation of 100,000 is not to be ignored. A final factor is the low price of a subscription to the *Defender*—fifty cents a year. Apparently, the price is kept down in order to reach a low income group. The economic status of the Defenders may, then, be best described as "lower middle class."

### FUNDS

Winrod asserts that his weekly expenses are \$1,200. In view of his many activities, this does not seem improbable. He meets the expenses by drawing on at least four different sources: income from his publications, collections at public meetings, contributions from the "Inner Circle," gifts from the wealthy. Income from publications includes not only the sale of the literature but also the advertising in the *Defender*. Collections are taken at all public meetings of the Defenders. The "Inner Circle," people of moderate means, is the source to which Winrod turns to most frequently. A special mimeographed letter goes out to the Circle about every month or six weeks. Almost invariably it ends with an appeal for funds. Some special emergency has always to be met: an accumulation of unpaid bills, the purchase of a new car for Winrod, the launching of a new tract, or the expenses of radio broadcasting. In letters to the Circle, flattery and quotations from the Bible are used to encourage contributions. A letter written in connection with the launching of the *Revealer* was truly revealing:

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You people have been the very heart-throb of the movement. Without your support during the last five years, the movement would have perished. . . . Your part in the work is as important as mine. If we were to cease our combined efforts, all would be lost. . . .

Who can invest \$50 in order to give the *Revealer* a running start? Can someone send \$100? DO HELP QUICK. Think how wonderful it would be if twenty friends could send \$20 each. Or if one hundred could send \$10 apiece. Let many, many contribute \$5.00. . . . But if you can only send a dollar to two . . . send what you can.

On another occasion, Winrod declared:

Upon arriving in Washington I found an accumulation of over \$2,000 in unpaid bills staring me in the face. My heart fairly sinks as I bring this load before you. . . . Yet, I think of the Scriptures which tell us to cast our burdens upon the Lord. And another verse, Gal. 6:2, "Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ."

Winrod has not found his way into the pocketbooks of any great number of affluent businessmen and industrialists. Nevertheless, he has had certain successes. On at least one occasion, he is said to have obtained contributions from two wealthy Oklahoma oil men. The appeal to such men is, "We are fighting Communism". Perhaps the menace of Communism seemed real and near at hand to the oil companies when the C. I. O. conducted a drive to unionize oil field workers.

## CHAPTER VII

### The Edmondson Economic Service

TO REFER to the Edmondson Economic Service as an "organization" is definitely to stretch the meaning of the term. Robert Edward Edmondson, the head of this center of anti-semitic propaganda, has no organizational inclinations. He is primarily important as an energetic free-lance writer and distributor of anti-semitic literature.

#### LEADERSHIP

Something of Edmondson's highly interesting background can be gleaned from the autobiographical sketch he published in the January 28, 1936, issue of his weekly publication:

Robert Edward Edmondson was born in Dayton, Ohio, in 1872, son of Edward Edmondson, artist. My business career includes nearly forty years in journalism as reporter, editor, publisher, financial writer and investment economist from coast to coast. Politically, I am non-partisan, pro-Constitution, pro-National, anti-International and anti-Communist; not a member of any secret society. Financially, modestly independent, with no entangling alliances. Religion, not a churchman but a believer in Christian principles. Ancestry, native American, chiefly Scotch descent, pre-Revolution, from Maryland.

I began in Cincinnati, Ohio, as reporter and then sub-editor for the *Cincinnati Post*, later representative for the Scripps-McRae Press Association. Was news correspondent in New York City for the *Louisville Times*, *Milwaukee Journal*, *Minneapolis Journal*, and twenty other western newspapers. Sub-editor on James Gordon Bennett's *New York Herald*, following reportorial service on *New York Mail and Express* under Editor Stoddard. Economic writer for the Fairchild Publications. Financial editor for the *New York Journal*. For a few months I was on the staff of financial news reporters employed by the manager of the Daily Financial News Bureau of the now defunct *Town Topics Weekly*, once run by Jewish scandalmongers. J. A. Joseph was chosen to operate the bureau.

I regard my short connection with this agency in the New York financial district as the most valuable of my entire financial experience because it provided knowledge which enabled me to identify positively the sinister Jewish Leadership forces which were then subverting American finance through economic power, and who later similarly prostituted politics. The knowledge gained during this association was what determined me when I established on a capital of \$300 thirty-three years ago my own independent and unsubsidized financial news analytical Edmondson Service. . . .



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The Edmondson Service established later the *American Stockholders' Weekly*, the *New York Daily Financial News Bulletin*, and *Coming Events*. Finding it necessary in 1923 to take a prolonged vacation owing to overwork—undermining of health, I disposed of *Coming Events*, then yielding \$50,000 a year net, and traveled for a few years on the Pacific Coast. With recovering health, I returned to New York City in the latter part of 1932 and reestablished the Edmondson Service, going on the staff of the *New York Daily News Record* as Economic writer. I soon found a mysterious wall against recovery. . . .

Edmondson continues with his version of the origin of his hatred for Jews and revolutionaries:

On March 27, 1934, I issued a bulletin headed: "Bankrupt Leadership," declaring that Republican leadership had shown bankruptcy by refusing to reform anything, and . . . A prominent investment interest asked me why I had published this. I replied that it was a patriotic duty to expose bad political leadership. "Is that all?" I was asked. "Yes," I answered. The questioner then held me spellbound for an hour. He and his associates had studied the Jewish Problem for years. He unfolded a story of politico-economic subversion of France, Britain, Germany and Russia, producing historical suppressed records of fact and authority, largely Jewish, furnishing documentary evidence that Jewish Leadership had caused the depression and was moving to take over the United States through the Jewish-Radical Roosevelt administration.

When he finished I asked: "What are we going to do about it?" He said: "I don't know." "I do," I declared. "There is but one course. Pitiless publicity is the only cure for public evils, and I am going to broadcast Jewish anti-Americanism and expose the plot. The Real Issue is: Shall a minority rule?"

In April, 1934, the Edmondson Economic Service entered the field of anti-semitism. At that time it was located at 84 Washington Street, New York City. In April, 1937, it moved to 400 West 160th Street and in 1939 it forsook New York for Stoddartsville, Pennsylvania.

### PROPAGANDA

Although it is difficult to arrive at an accurate estimate of the circulation of Edmondson's material, it is safe to say that the total volume has been exceeded only by that of Father Coughlin, the German-American Bund, and the Rev. Gerald B. Winrod. Much of his material is distributed through other anti-semitic organizations—groups too small to publish their own literature, such as the Order of '76 and the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States. His publications have turned up in such widely separated points as Montgomery (Ala.), Aberdeen (Wash.), San Antonio, Boston, Philadelphia, Galveston, Chicago, Toledo, Cleveland, and Sioux City.

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Edmondson asserts that in his first year of operation he distributed over a million pieces of literature, pamphlets and weekly letters.<sup>1</sup> After two years of operation, he boasted that he had circulated over five million pieces of literature. Assuming that his figures are accurate, Edmondson's average weekly circulation over the first two years was approximately 50,000.

Prior to the 1936 presidential election Edmondson periodically published the *Edmondson News X-Ray* and *Freedom*. Neither publication ever achieved extensive circulation. In 1937, Edmondson began to distribute pamphlets frequently. They were of ten to fifty pages, selling for five or ten cents each. Among these were Elizabeth Dilling's—*Dare We Oppose Red Treason?*; Edmondson's—*The Jewish System Indicted, Anti-Semitic Causes of Today*, and *Women of America, Rescue the Republic*.

Though primarily a writer, Edmondson now and then makes use of the public platform as a channel of propaganda. On several occasions he has addressed German-American Bund groups. The American National Labor Party, a group that split off from the Bund, and the American Nationalist Party, one of the smaller anti-semitic groups, have both had him as a guest speaker. In February, 1937, he accepted the invitation of the Cardinal Newman Club of New York to address a group of 500 Catholic youths. His address, entitled "Anti-Semitic Causes of Today," is one of the rare instances of an anti-semitic address to a Catholic audience prior to the opening of Father Coughlin's anti-semitic campaign in July, 1938.

### MEMBERSHIP

Edmondson has no membership organization. His followers are the readers of his weekly bulletins, equivalent in number and in geographical distribution to the circulation—about 50,000—scattered all over the country. Many reader-members are members of other anti-semitic groups. Since Edmondson's material sells quite cheaply, his followers are undoubtedly from a lower income level than those who purchase James True's \$12 per year *Industrial Control Reports*.<sup>2</sup>

### FUNDS

The Edmondson Economic Service receives its financial backing from four sources—Edmondson's private income, sale of literature, small solicited contributions, and the gifts of at least four financial "angels". Edmondson tells of starting his campaign by "using several thousand dollars of my own resources to get it on a self-supporting

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basis." Probably a much more important source than the sale of literature is the small solicited contribution. Typical of Edmondson's appeals for such contributions is the concluding sentence of one of his bulletins: "Carry on your patriotic crusade against aliens seeking to destroy American Liberties. I enclose contribution therefor. Please acknowledge receipt." Similar solicitations were made in connection with the Edmondson Defense Fund. Mayor Fiorello La Guardia of New York and other persons brought suit against Edmondson for libel against the Jewish people. Edmondson was shrewd enough to sense the opportunity to become a martyr and to achieve considerable publicity. Numerous Edmondson rallies were held in New York to raise funds for his defense. At least one such meeting was held in the New York *Turnhalle*—in a room adjoining that in which the Bund was holding a meeting. In Chicago, Harry Jung, head of the anti-semitic American Viligant Intelligence Federation, solicited contributions for the defense fund. Apparently the plaintiffs realized that the novel idea of libel against a race was a weak basis for a case and that they were playing into Edmondson's hands by making a martyr of him. The case was dropped. Prominent among Edmondson's financial "angels" is Howland Spencer, the wealthy owner of the *Highland Post*, an Ulster County (New York), journal. Spencer is violently anti-semitic and anti-New Deal in his paper and in the pamphlets that he writes under the pseudonym, the Squire of Krum Elbow. At least three other persons have been at one time or another Edmondson's financial "angels": a very prominent Newport, Rhode Island, lawyer; a banker now deceased, and a New York stockbroker. In 1937 the stockbroker, evidently alarmed about "the destructive influences of alien bankers in this country", gave \$5,000 jointly to Edmondson and Colonel E. M. Sanctuary, leader of the anti-semitic American Christian Defenders, to further their work.

## CHAPTER VIII

### The American Vigilant Intelligence Federation

THE American Vigilant Intelligence Federation was incorporated under the laws of Illinois as a non-profit corporation in December, 1927. From that date until April, 1933, it was not a membership organization. It consisted only of a general manager, his secretary, a few solicitors and undercover men, and some very extensive files on persons and organizations considered subversive by the Federation. The files were the organization's chief basis of income, for from them came the information for which businessmen and others paid substantial fees. In April, 1933, the Federation became a membership organization. The high point of activity was reached in the spring and summer of 1934. At that time, meetings of the Federation's Inner Circle in Chicago were held regularly and ambitious national plans were laid. Some organizational work was carried on in certain parts of Michigan. After the McCormack Committee investigated the Federation in August, 1934, it became less conspicuous. During the 1936 Presidential campaign, however, the organization threw off some of its old secrecy, conducted public meetings, and de-emphasized spying on the "Reds." Since 1936, it has avoided public attention although it has remained quite active.

The Federation's present objects and purposes, as set forth in the literature sent to prospective members, are:

To combat and counteract the insidious work of anti-American propagandists, including those who have invaded American shores in order to belittle the patriotic efforts of American heroes and to tarnish their fair name.

To combat and counteract the efforts of anti-American organizations which are expending huge sums to destroy American institutions and to create a Socialistic or Communistic World Government.

To combat and counteract the rule of insidious minorities, bureaucracies, and lawless elements.

To refrain from being a party to any religious, political or racial controversy unless such controversy contains a political element that is inimical to American Liberty and American Civilization.

To consummate its educational program by the means of patriotic

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donations made by those who are in sympathy with the perpetuation of American Liberty and American Civilization.

To establish an endowment fund to perpetuate its work in future generations, so that our posterity may enjoy the same heritage handed down to us by our ancestors.

The Federation does not carry out its purposes in broad daylight. It uses the "secret" society technique that so many Americans find irresistible. An excellent description of this technique is to be found in the set of confidential instructions given each Federation recruit upon admission to membership.

### *Confidential Instructions*

#### FROM: GENERAL HEADQUARTERS

These instructions are for your eyes only. They must be preserved and read carefully. They are our property. On occasion they will be recalled and new ones issued. If any subjects are not covered or are not clear, do not hesitate to ask about them.

In brief the following instructions cover (A) your conduct, (B) your duties, and (C) your responsibilities, all voluntarily undertaken as a working patriot, tritely but truly stated as—For God (against anti-God)—For Home (against Nationalization of Man, Woman, and Child)—For Country (Americanism not Internationalism).

#### A. YOUR CONDUCT

You are cautioned to:—

1. Sign communications by your number only, your signature is not necessary.
2. Address all communications to Post Office Box 144, Chicago, Illinois.
3. Since your sponsor, and members you sponsor, know of your association and work, it is not necessary to tell of it, unless you want to, and it might act as a handicap to good intelligence work, should your stand be "broadcast." Use your own best judgment, however.
4. Confidential matters of the organization should only be discussed in private and in confidence. Therefore use discretion on street cars, taxi cabs, buses, the streets, restaurants, and anywhere in public where you might be overheard or others might listen in. This should be especially watched when you are talking to friends whom you want to enlist or enroll.
5. Your identification tag (please remove from under seal on last page) is to be carried with you always. It should be displayed only to identify yourself to other members or as a test to find out if another is a member. It is purposely made inconspicuous and meaningless almost like an ordinary telephone slug, so that if lost, it can mean nothing to the finder and is readily replaceable. Meritorious service is rewarded by the issuance of tags of increasingly finer metals. In this way the various members are given rank or rating.
6. The pass-word, recognition word, and distress-shout will be told you by your Sponsor.

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7. The Enlistment and Acceptance blanks are all numbered and placed in your care, confident that you will be able to use them. If you can not use them, they must be returned, because a record is kept of each one and they must be accounted for in either new Enlistments and Enrollments or returns. Also as a double check, when received, they are acknowledged. This verifies as to genuineness of applications.

8. Enlisting or Enrolling new members. *Be sure of the man or woman you enlist or enroll.* For your own sake as well as others, sponsor only persons whose background, training, likes and dislikes, you are familiar with, know about, and can vouch for as being sound. "Well-chosen" must be our watchword.

#### B. YOUR DUTIES

1. Report faithfully any and all information that comes to your notice. This means matter that you overhear or that falls into your hands more or less by accident.
2. Do whatever duties are assigned to you if possible.
3. Keep yourself informed by sending in your subscription promptly and in advance. If for any reason you must delay, please write in saying so. Neglect plus Silence can have only one interpretation.

#### C. YOUR RESPONSIBILITIES

1. You will find that anti-God, anti-Home, and anti-American material usually run along the following lines. This listing is given you so you may readily label, put your finger on, and recognize for what it is, and not for what it tells you what it is.

- (a) Communist or communistic.
- (b) Socialist or socialistic.
- (c) Anarchist or anarchistic.
- (d) Atheist or agnostic.
- (e) Pacifist or internationalistic; anti-nationalism.
- (f) Occult; psychic; mystic; metaphysic.
- (g) Racial—creedal or cult.
- (h) Derogatory of Army, Navy, Marine, National Guard, Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC), Citizens Military Training Camps (CMTC).
- (i) Off-color educational, religious, "liberal" academic propaganda and activities.
- (j) Sexy or pornographic.
- (k) Subversive of the *Golden Rule*. (Business is Business attitude typifies this.)
- (l) Neurotic Philosophical.
- (m) Anti-law and order.
- (n) Class legislation (local—state—national).
- (o) Subversive of constitutional government.

2. *Speeches, pamphlets, conversation, programs, articles, reports, etc.,* which come under any of the above subheads should be reported or copies cut or sent in in toto to headquarters.

3. When you are given a job to do such as the Special Assignment Sheet attached hereto, do it if possible to the best of your ability.

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4. *When you are directed to cover a meeting, forum, address, lecture, or sermon, remember:—*

- (a) Type or write in ink on plain paper with date of report in upper left hand corner, signing it at end with your number only.
- (b) Begin report with (1) address of hall or meeting place, (2) time of meeting, (3) and a careful estimate of the number of people present.
- (c) Do your best to get the name of each speaker. If you fail to, then describe characteristics, and any peculiarities, marks or emblems.
- (d) Get hold of any literature distributed, programs, etc. Send this along by all means.
- (e) The markedly disloyal or destructive statements should be reported as nearly as verbatim as possible.
- (f) Report any persons present who are in the public eye (important) or who appear to be persons of importance.
- (g) Signed statements of eye-witnesses or attendants are highly valuable regarding poisonous revolutionary declarations on the part of speakers.
- (h) Please report everything heard and seen in as great detail as possible, because even apparently irrelevant items, while seemingly meaningless to you, may, when checked with other reports, assume great importance, or even inadvertently give an inkling of something of real moment that is secret. Slips of the tongue often do just this. Therefore, be voluminous.

5. *Report even casual conversations* overheard or taken part in, when the speaker seems unsound, or persists after being objected to or after being given an American viewpoint by yourself or others. Do not hesitate to proclaim the Truth and to be American, if you can do so in good taste, or it might be well to do so regardless.

6. *Literature and periodicals* are especial items of scrutiny. Anything coming under the before-mentioned headings should be clipped and sent in, fully identified as to publication name, date and page. If you can tear out the entire page or pages, do so. Many members will be assigned this duty with reference to certain periodicals. All are asked to do it, if they can, regardless of specific assignment.

### 7. MEMBERSHIP:

- (a) Men, women or children are eligible, *if you know them well and can vouch for them.*
- (b) There are three kinds of Memberships, dependent upon financial capacities, but without demarcation or limitation because of it, since any class can Sponsor members for either of the other two. They are:

1. *Acceptance*—by enrollment as a Member of the Board of Underwriters. This classification voluntarily undertakes a monthly financial responsibility to the organization for a reasonable sum, payable monthly.

2. *Enlistment*—by undertaking to serve as a Confidential Intelligence agent and to keep informed by sending in \$1.25 every 3 months for educational material disseminated by the organization.

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3. *Remitted Enlistment*—identical with Enlistment except that the \$1.25 subscription is remitted because of unemployment or financial distress. As soon as the distress time is over regular enlistment status must be resumed or taken up.

- (c) Your Sponsor will give you additional instructions regarding membership.
- (d) You are reminded that your membership was solicited by nothing more or less than another "working patriot." *There are no paid membership solicitors.* This means therefore that the growth or lack of growth, strength or weakness, effectiveness or ineffectiveness of the organization you are aligned with, depends solely upon yourself and how well you work at this patriotic job.
- (e) While members are and must be "Well Chosen," there is truly strength in numbers, and you are earnestly encouraged to be alert in the Enlisting And Enrolling of your friends and associates whom you know will be equally ready to serve as "working patriots."
- (f) Attention is directed to the fact that Membership is open to Men, Women, and Children. Women especially can do excellent work since they are being made the subject of concentrated propaganda.
- (g) The Membership Committee, of course, passes upon all enlistments and enrollments, and can assure you of sound and necessary reasons for rejections when made.

### 8. IN CASE OF AN EMERGENCY

- (a) On the index card herewith are recorded several telephone numbers, for your use in emergency cases and after business hours. You should be able to reach one of the members at one of these numbers. These numbers should not be used unless imperatively necessary. In talking over the phone identify yourself as Number so-and-so.
- (b) Unless you are otherwise instructed, when mailing reports, etc., use always just "Post Office Box 144, Chicago, Illinois."
- (c) Telegrams can be dispatched to the same Post Office Box address, without the use of any name. In signing telegrams, spell out your token number—for example: thirty-one, or whatever it happens to be.

9. *When you want proof or information* on any subject—do not hesitate to write in for it. Within limits it will be promptly supplied to you.

10. Prepared addresses will be sent to you from time to time which you are encouraged to deliver in a talk to formal or informal groups.

11. *The Bulletins of Information* which are sent you are for your use and knowledge. Broadcast it to the uninformed and the misinformed. Tell it to the World without hesitation because it is absolutely authenticated and documented, every bit of it fully proven and established.

12. *Your Immediate Assignment* is attached, please report regularly and not less than once each month.



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The text of the "immediate assignment" clipped to the above confidential instructions follows:

### SPECIAL ASSIGNMENT

Your special assignment until further notice will be the reading and clipping of the magazine *Literary Digest*, according to Confidential Instructions, Page 3, Item 6. Anytime you are in the near vicinity, you are privileged to visit headquarters office.

Aside from the appeal to secrecy evident throughout the above documents, the most striking feature is the fantastic classification of subversive writings and utterances. With such an approach the Federation obviously can classify as subversive anyone it does not happen to like. Moreover, not only must a Federation "Agent" do a good deal of research work, but he must pay \$5 a year for the privilege.

The man who leads and has always been the dominant figure in the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation is Harry A. Jung.

During the World War, Jung served on the western side of the Atlantic doing espionage work for the Military Plant and Protection Department of the War Labor Board.<sup>1</sup> In the period of industrial unrest following the war, he found that his skill in espionage had definite commercial value. He set himself up in Chicago as "Labor Commissioner" of the National Clay Products Industries Association. The Association was, essentially, Harry Jung. Strictly speaking it was not a trade association of manufacturers. It was a business for Jung, the business of labor-spying and strike-breaking for any clay products manufacturer who would pay for his services.<sup>2</sup> Since this business thrived on labor unrest and languished during labor tranquillity, Jung did not limit himself to handling labor troubles that arose naturally. It is asserted that he fomented strikes in order that he would be called upon to settle them. Herewith is the text of a document indicating several characteristics of his operations. It appeared on the stationery of the National Clay Products Industries Association, dated September 25, 1926:<sup>3</sup>

General Manager,  
North River Brick Co.,  
R.F.D. 4,  
Saugerties, N. Y.

DEAR SIR:

Find herewith excerpt from confidential report received from one of our staff representatives in connection with the Connecticut strike situation:

"Lowrie did not speak tonight of using any violence, but begged the men to stick for the sake of their wives and children, saying next

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spring when this battle opened up again, the Hudson River district would be organized so that no influx of negro labor could occur, as is now the case, and with this road blocked, the CBMA would have to come to time."

It is essential that this fall, winter and next spring, the Hudson River operators get together and formulate a definite labor policy and it would be advisable to have the writer address you on the subject matter of "What is the U. B. and C. W. of A.?" \* "What do they do?"—"What have they done?" and "What Should We Do to Offset Their Activities?"

Very truly yours,

H. A. JUNG,  
Commissioner.

The term "staff representative" used in the first paragraph is, of course, a euphemism for "labor spy," "Lowrie" was apparently the union organizer. Note that one of the functions of the "Commissioner" was that of traveling lecturer on the evils of labor unions and that of advance information expert on the best ways to defeat unionism.

Among the persons who attest to Jung's strike-fomenting activities as well as his espionage and strike-breaking work is the late Speaker of the House of Representatives, Henry T. Rainey. When he found that Jung was distributing printed matter attacking him among his constituents in Illinois, Rainey wrote Jung the following letter:

For a long time I was the ranking member of my party on the Labor Committee in Congress, leading the fight for labor bills and during that period of time and since that time on account of my interest in the subject I have kept a record of the activities of paid emissaries of the organizations whose object it is to foment strikes in industry and to fight the efforts of labor organizations to better their conditions. . . .

My files show that you are a sort of a detective, worming your way into the homes of the most trusted members of labor organizations and obtaining information with which to combat the efforts of labor organizations to better their conditions, and that you obtain this information for the purpose of assisting "strike breakers."

The data I have show that you foment strikes in the districts where there is no union and then settle the strike for a price.

The information I have with reference to you is that you are the man who does the slimy, stool pigeon work necessary for the purpose of destroying organized labor wherever it has contractual relations with employers.

Another document showing evidence of the same type of activity on the part of Jung is an affidavit by William Tracy, Secretary-

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Treasurer of the United Brick and Clay Workers of America. The following are excerpts from Tracy's affidavit:

This man, Jung, first showed up in our organization quite a number of years ago in the state of Iowa, where we had a number of strikes on hand, and where he circulated petitions throughout non-union plants in which he attempted to show that our organization was not financially able to take care of the number of strikes at hand, etc.

In other words he was the tool of the employers. He appeared in a number of other places shortly thereafter, but we really got the low-down on this gentleman at a strike at Nelsonville, Ohio, which was conducted by the Vice President Thos. Hutson of our organization. We had a member by the name of F. A. Bonn, who was not only secretary at the Nelsonville, Ohio, Local, but Secretary of the Ohio District Council, a newly formed district, and we were informed by a friendly plant superintendent that he was a reporter for the Jung Organization, and that he was not only giving the minutes of the Nelsonville Local Union, but the minutes of the district council meetings to the Jung Organization in Chicago in return for a salary of \$300 per month.

We secured some of these reports which were classed as "Field Reports," from Mr. Bonn, and we likewise secured instructions from Jung's organization in Chicago to Mr. Bonn in which he was ordered to create dissension among our members and if necessary to get them out on strike.

He appeared on the scene of our organization a few years ago during the terra cotta strike at Chicago Heights and it is a matter of record that he came into the County Police Department late on a Saturday afternoon when no one had a chance to appear in Court, or even to find an official and influenced them to the end that they sent a large number of County Police out on the job at Chicago Heights, which was done and had its effect, but to prove that there was no need for such action the police were removed as soon as we were able to get in touch with Sheriff Graydon on Monday morning.

He appeared in Brazil, Indiana, during one of our strikes, and is ever on the job not only to break strikes but to create them.

[Signed] WILLIAM TRACY, Secretary-Treasurer,  
UNITED BRICK AND CLAY WORKERS OF AMERICA.

Signed and sworn to before me this 25th day of May 1935.

[Signed] JAMES M. RILEY,  
Notary Public.

The late Edward N. Nockels, secretary of the Chicago Federation of Labor, expressed similar ideas in a letter he wrote Jung in October, 1934:

Be advised that you and your . . . so-called AVIF we consider as nothing more or less than a racketeering, strike-breaking, detective

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agency outfit, using the alibi that you are fighting communistic propaganda and appealing to "open shoppers" and labor-baiting employers for financial assistance, when, as a matter of fact, these communists are your own hired hirelings, used in the dissemination of propaganda to destroy organized labor, in order to bring business to you for the carrying on of your nefarious racket in strike breaking.

Jung's strike-fomenting is worthy of special attention. However unethical labor-spying and strike-breaking may appear to a labor sympathizer, this business implies at least an honest relationship between the manufacturer and the detective agency he hires. Not so with Jung. The National Clay Products Industries Association seems to have double-crossed its own clients. Though paid to keep labor peace, the Association continually stirred up trouble. Jung's technique of strike-fomenting proceeded somewhat in this fashion:<sup>5</sup> In a non-union plant Jung's representative would discuss the idea of union organization and a strike. He would even suggest that the Brick and Clay Workers' union be requested to send down an organizer or, if a new local had already been formed, he would agitate for an immediate strike.<sup>6</sup> Bonn, Jung's hireling mentioned in Tracy's affidavit, was, for example, instructed to get the Nelsonville local out on strike. Such strikes lacked the approval of the central headquarters of the union; the national officials believed that the local could go further by holding the threat of a strike over the heads of the owners than by actually striking and that it was wiser not to call a strike until the local was stronger and its chances of winning better. Consequently, both employers and responsible trade union officials suffered as a result of Jung-fomented strikes. Jung alone profited by these strikes.

Strike-fomenting tapped two sources of income for Jung: payment for settling strikes and the sale of confidential information on union activities. The more strikes Jung secretly fomented, the more the industrialists felt dependent upon the labor espionage service that the National Clay Products Industries Association could furnish. It was as if a fire insurance company anxious to induce more farmers to take out policies were to hire a "firebug" to set fire to barns.

The nature of the reports sent out by Jung was such as to keep industrialists in a continual state of insecurity. The menace of violence was emphasized frequently. In Jung's letter to the North River Brick Company, for example, the spy's report said, "Lowrie did not speak tonight of using violence," a sentence creating the impression that Lowrie had done so at other meetings or that it was usual for labor organizers to advocate violence. Trade unionist Tracy tells of a report that falsely quoted him as suggesting dynamiting a plant if certain employers did not come to terms promptly.